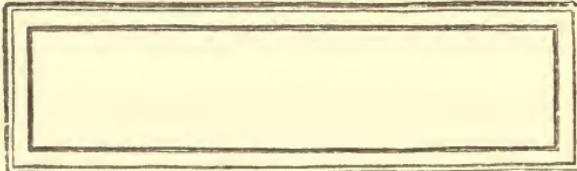
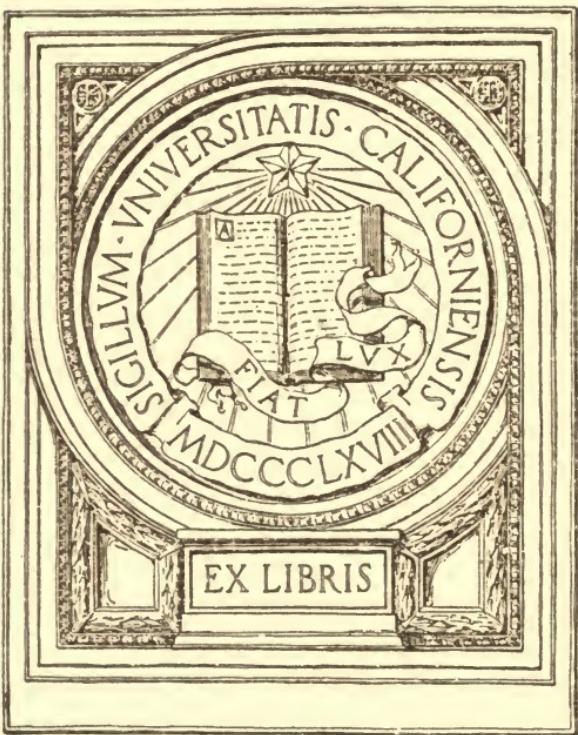


# JOHN HANCOCK HIS BOOK



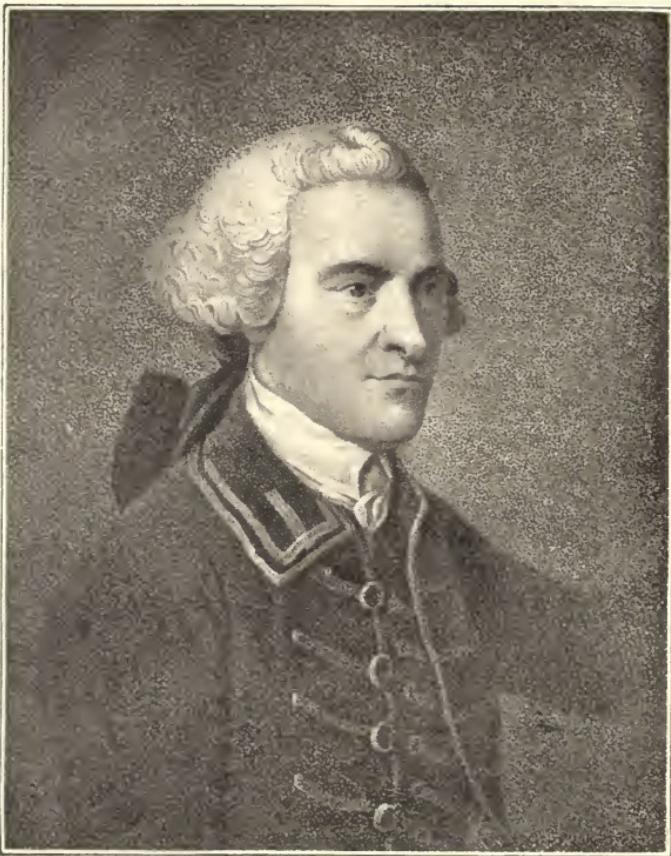
1763 - 1783











*John Hancock*

"He wrote his name where all nations should behold it  
and where all time should not efface it."

# JOHN HANCOCK

## HIS BOOK

BY

ABRAM ENGLISH BROWN

AUTHOR OF "HISTORY OF BEDFORD"

"GLIMPSES OF OLD NEW ENGLAND LIFE" "BENEATH OLD ROOFTREES"

"BESIDE OLD HEARTHSTONES" ETC.



*"It is never too late to repair an injury or pay a debt of gratitude"*



BOSTON  
LEE AND SHEPARD PUBLISHERS  
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1898

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JOHN HANCOCK, HIS BOOK



C. J. PETERS & SON, TYPOGRAPHERS, BOSTON

BERWICK & SMITH, PRINTERS, NORWOOD PRESS

TO

GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR

HONORED SENIOR SENATOR OF  
MASSACHUSETTS

This Volume

IS GRATEFULLY INSCRIBED.

**271464**



## P R E F A C E

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WHILE engaged in the preparation of an article upon the mercantile life of John Hancock, my attention was directed to a volume of manuscript of possible use in my line of study.

Curiosity led me to a thorough examination, requiring many weeks of the most studious labor, the result of which was first given to the public through the columns of the *Boston Transcript*. The interest manifested was sufficient to induce me to issue this volume in hopes that it might create a demand for a life of John Hancock, which may be given the public by other hands.

Courtesies aiding in the preparation of this volume have been received from John Ward Dean, A.M., librarian of the New England Historic Genealogical Society; Samuel Arthur Bent, clerk and treasurer of the Bostonian Society; Mr. Harrison Gray Otis; the historical societies of the towns of Concord, Lexington, and Bedford; and from Allen Coffin, Esq., of Nantucket, Rev. E. G. Porter of Boston, Mrs. William Wales of Dorchester, Mrs. Lydia Taft of Boston, owner of the portraits of Thomas Hancock and wife, and other interested friends of a long-neglected patriot.

ABRAM ENGLISH BROWN.



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# *John Hancock, His Book*

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTORY AND BIOGRAPHICAL

NEGLECT OF JOHN HANCOCK. FAMILY RECORD. ADOPTION OF THE BOY JOHN BY THOMAS HANCOCK. IN LATIN SCHOOL AND HARVARD COLLEGE. BOYHOOD VISITS TO LEXINGTON AND BEDFORD. SOJOURN IN ENGLAND.

"HE who would study the career of Hancock must glean it piecemeal from the brief notices of the encyclopædias, the pages of general history, and the biographies of other men," said Curtis Guild, Jr., at the unveiling of the memorial to John Hancock in Boston, on Sept. 10, 1896. Various reasons may be assigned for this neglect. Hancock died at the age of fifty-six years, and left no descendants. His numerous relatives received and enjoyed his great wealth; but neither pride nor gratitude incited them to the work of writing the life of their benefactor. His unremitting toils and sacrifices for the public good during the most trying period of the history of this republic may have been so far overshadowed by his unaccountable management of the treasury of Harvard College as to deter any man of that institution from undertaking the work.

We are thankful that the Commonwealth of Massachusetts has so far repaired this neglect and paid her debt of gratitude as to erect the monument now to be seen at the tomb of her first governor in the Old Granary Burying-Ground, Boston; and it is hoped that some pen is now at work upon an adequate history of John Hancock which the public will welcome before many years.

It is not the purpose of this volume to supply the long-felt want, except in so far as the letters of the man may afford slight glimpses of it. Ruskin has said that "the true biography of a nation is written in the book of its deeds, the book of its art, and the book of its words." It is to the book of the deeds and words of John Hancock that I wish to direct my readers.

There is no better way in which to reach the real sentiments of a man than through his private correspondence. Speeches are for the public, and often are more truly the voice of the people than of the speaker; but in letters to trusted friends the man records his real self. It is my purpose to allow the letters of John Hancock to speak for him, introducing only such familiar facts of history as are needful to make clear the long-hidden utterances of the man. These letters cover that period of our history which Rufus Choate said was the most significant, but most neglected decade,—that from the revenue acts to open hostilities. But before brushing away the dust of a full century from this worm-eaten volume of manuscript, let me pause to introduce my friend to the rising generation. I say "my friend" because I rate in my circle of friends all whose labors have conspired to give to me this glorious heritage of freedom.

He was the third in as many generations of the fam-

ily to bear the name, John Hancock, in the history of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. The first, his grandfather, was Rev. John Hancock, pastor at Lexington for many years. He was often called Bishop Hancock because of his wide field of great usefulness. His residence, the old parsonage, is now eagerly visited at Lexington by tourists, who seek for the place of entertainment of the patriot John Hancock on the eventful night of April 18,

1775. The second generation was Rev. John Hancock of Braintree (Quincy); he was pastor there from 1726 till his death in 1744. He, as pastor and parent, placed the outward seal of baptism upon the third John in January, 1737. The same hand performed a similar act on the innocent brow of John Adams. By the early death of this pastor, a widow and three young children became objects of the solicitude of their friends.

There was living in Boston a brother of the deceased pastor, Thomas Hancock, who with his wife, Lydia Henchman, was blessed with wealth and all that it could procure; but no little feet pattered about their elegant mansion on Beacon Hill, and they early opened their hearts and home to the boy John. This lad of seven



REV. JOHN HANCOCK, GRANDFATHER  
OF THE PATRIOT.

years was kept in touch with his mother, his brother Ebenezer, and his sister Mary; but he was the lad who most cheered the hearts of the merchant and his companion, who was the daughter of a like noted merchant of the town of Boston.

Dressed in the best that the town afforded for boys of his age, John Hancock was tenderly guarded by his uncle and aunt. He

was early found in the Latin School during the sessions, and was taken in the Hancock chariot to Lexington for the benefits of country air during the vacations. When restless at that parsonage he was driven to the Bedford parsonage, but a few miles away, where he was the envied of his little cousins, who made merry the



MRS. JOHN HANCOCK, GRANDMOTHER  
OF THE PATRIOT.

(Elizabeth, daughter of Rev. Thomas and Mary Clark of Chelmsford.)

hours of his visit. This attractive boy was given the best that the parsonage afforded, and was allowed to dip his quill in his uncle's "*inkstand dish*" while displaying his youthful ability in penmanship.

The best candlestick was used in his honor, and all attention given the boy, as a representative of Thomas<sup>1</sup>

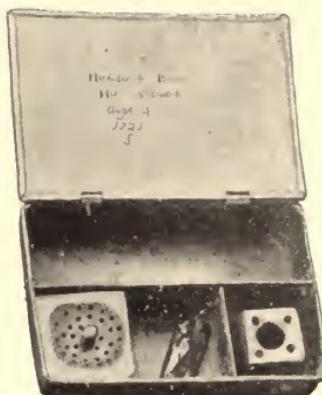
<sup>1</sup> Thomas Bowes, nephew and namesake of Thomas Hancock, cousin of John, died in youth at Bedford.

Hancock, whose wealth and influence were often helpfully displayed at this minister's home in a new and struggling settlement. One of the Bedford minister's children was Lucy, the namesake of her mother,— Lucy, daughter of Rev. John Hancock of Lexington. This daughter of Rev. Nicholas Bowes and Lucy Hancock was often found taking steps for her grandparents at Lexington, and with young John from Boston romped hand in hand over the hills of Lexington, peered with curious eyes into the old belfry, or made mud pies at its rude base. Yes, my reader, John Hancock was a boy, and had wants like other boys of his time. No one can doubt that they were all supplied; perhaps if oftener denied he would have been the gainer. School text-books were scarce and dear,

but John Hancock never "looked over" with his companions. The Henchman house imported and dealt in all kinds of books and stationery, and John's uncle Thomas had an account with his father-in-law. In the Henchman day-book is found, with charges to Thomas Hancock, "1 book to John, 5s. 4d.; 1 Hammond's algebra to John, 9s. 7d."



N. BOWES, 1721.

(In possession of  
A. E. Brown.)

INKSTAND DISH.

John Hancock, well fitted, entered Harvard College, and was graduated from that institution in 1754. His tall, graceful figure,

elegant dress, courteous manner, and prospective fortune made him the envied of the best circles of the seaport, but this did not turn his well-poised head, and he entered his uncle's business house in the position of clerk. Manifesting a deep interest in the business, he was intrusted with its affairs, and in 1760 was sent abroad to represent the house in London. He took the trip under the patronage of Mr. Thomas Pownall, who had been governor of the province, and, as a friend of Thomas Hancock, had been a frequent guest at his home, and manifested much interest in the young man of the household. John Hancock's visit chanced to be at the time of the death of George II. and of the coronation of George III., pageants not uncongenial to the taste of the young man. It is recorded that the Boston merchant was later presented to the new king as a representative of one of his Majesty's colonies in America, and that King George presented the young man with a gold snuff-box. I shall not vouch for the truth of this statement; but custom made such articles of daily use in the ordinary exchange of courtesy. If the king, in the exuberance of his exalted position, did lavish this token upon his young American subject, he had occasion to regret it in later years; and doubtless John Hancock failed to pass it about with pride among his business or social friends, for "rich gifts wax poor when givers prove unkind."

The following letter, "billet," is in the possession of Mrs. William Wales of Dorchester, a grandniece of Mrs. Dorothy Hancock. It is without date, but must have preceded the death of the grandmother, which occurred in February, 1760, and is the earliest known to exist:

DEAR AUNT: My Father I accompany this afternoon to Lexington in a chaise, if you have any Commands there, shall be happy in the execution of them. My Grandmama will be happy to receive a Word or two from you as will your Nephew in committing to Memory what shall proceed from an amiable & beloved aunt, and as the original will not be present the proxy must answer as a feeble representative.

Respectfully

J. HANCOCK.

Saturday, 12 o'clock A.M.

Superscribed "Madam Hancock."

Dear Aunt,

My Father I accompany this afternoon to Lexington in a chaise, if you have any Commands there, shall be happy in the execution of them, my Grandmama will be happy to receive a Word or two from you as will your Nephew in committing to Memory what shall proceed from an amiable & beloved aunt, and as the original will not be present, the proxy must answer as a feeble representative

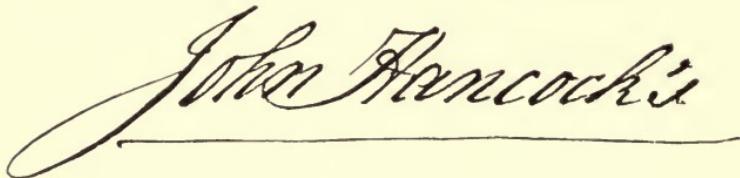
Respectfully -

J. Hancock

## CHAPTER II

THE FAMOUS AUTOGRAPH. HANCOCK WHARF. JOHN WENDELL A FELLOW-MERCHANT. THE BOWES FAMILY AT BEDFORD AND BOSTON.

ON the fly-leaf of his letter-book is read the well-known autograph.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "John Hancock's", with a horizontal line underneath it.

It lacks some of the steadiness and regularity of curve of that on the Declaration of Independence. Yet this and others in the letter-book are more nearly like the average signature of the business man. The above is in the possessive case; and the volume is in the main the record of the business transactions of John Hancock, although the early entries are those of Thomas Hancock. They introduce the reader to the business house when John Hancock was one of a large number of young men who did the clerical work of this famous house.

Hancock was a general importer, but his exports were necessarily confined to the products of the whale fisheries. The wholesale department of the business was conducted at the warehouses on Hancock's wharf, which formerly opened into Fish, now North Street. Lewis

Wharf represents it in part. Hancock was the owner of, or had a large interest in, several retail stores; and the variety of goods on sale placed him at the head of the business interests of the Province.

We are at first introduced, under date of Oct. 14, 1762, to Matthew Woodford, Esq., apparently an agent with whom Thomas Hancock has treated in regard to supplies furnished a garrison stationed at Annapolis and Chignecto, Nova Scotia. John Wendell is associated with him. Wendell was another Boston merchant of the time. He was a neighbor of Thomas Hancock, living on the corner of Court and Tremont Streets (says Drake).

On Oct. 17, 1762, we have a glimpse into the Hancock mansion on Beacon Hill, where the young man, John Hancock, just home from his sojourn abroad, is a most important member of his uncle's family.

DEAR SIR : At my Return from Church, I found on the Table the Revd Mr. Dodd's Excellent Sermon, preach'd at the Anniversary Meeting of the Governor's of the Magdalene Charity, in March last, which my Nephew had Just Receiv'd. I Read it with great Pleasure, which Reminded me of a former Resolution of throwing in my mite to that noble charity, which thro' Hurry of Business I had omitted and lest I should forget it again, I take my Pen, and Desire you will please to pay out of the first money you may Receive from me, Seventy Guineas, my subscription to the Magdalene Charity & charge to my Account.

I am with much Respect,

Dear Sir,

Your most Obedt Humble Servt.

To JON<sup>A</sup>. BARNARD, ESQ<sup>R</sup>.

one of the Govrs of Magdalene Charity.

This was but one of many of the acts of benevolence recorded to the honor of Thomas Hancock, whose noble

example was well followed in this particular by his nephew.

The next group of letters affords some intimation of the commercial relations of Boston merchants during the last French war, and of the difficulty in adjusting accounts.

BOSTON, *November* 5<sup>th</sup>, 1762.

GENT<sup>N</sup>: I Recd your favour of July 31<sup>st</sup>, observe Mr. Atkins's Bill on Trafford & Elms is Refused & Noted; however am of Opinion it will be paid, as Newfoundland is happily fallen again into our Hands. As I have no Power of Attorney from Kilby, Barnard & Parker, to whom Mr. Laughton was Indebted, so could have no Demand in Law, therefore have Deliver'd that accott to Mr. Parker, your Partner, my Power is from Kilby & Barnard only.

In Regard to Sewall & Lewis, I have good Security, but as I wrote, they can't pay yet, & it would not be prudent to sue, as it must break them up as things are at present.

The Tea is Arriv'd. I hope to hear from you soon and am  
Gent<sup>n</sup>, Your most Obed't Humble Servt.

P.S. Inclosed is a Certificate from the Custom House of landing the Tea, by Loring.

MESSRS. JONA<sup>A</sup>. BARNARD & CO.

BOSTON, *November* 30<sup>th</sup>, 1762.

GENT<sup>N</sup>: I herewith Inclose Invoice for sundry Goods, which I Desire you to Ship on my Accott by the first good Opportunity, in the Spring & Insure them. You will take particular Care, that the Goods are well Chosen, Pack'd & Charg'd at the lowest Prizes.

Inclosed you have also William Thomas's Bills on Mr. William Bivall Dartmouth £175, & Thomas Williams's Bills on John Humphrey, Esqr. for £20. When paid Credit my account.

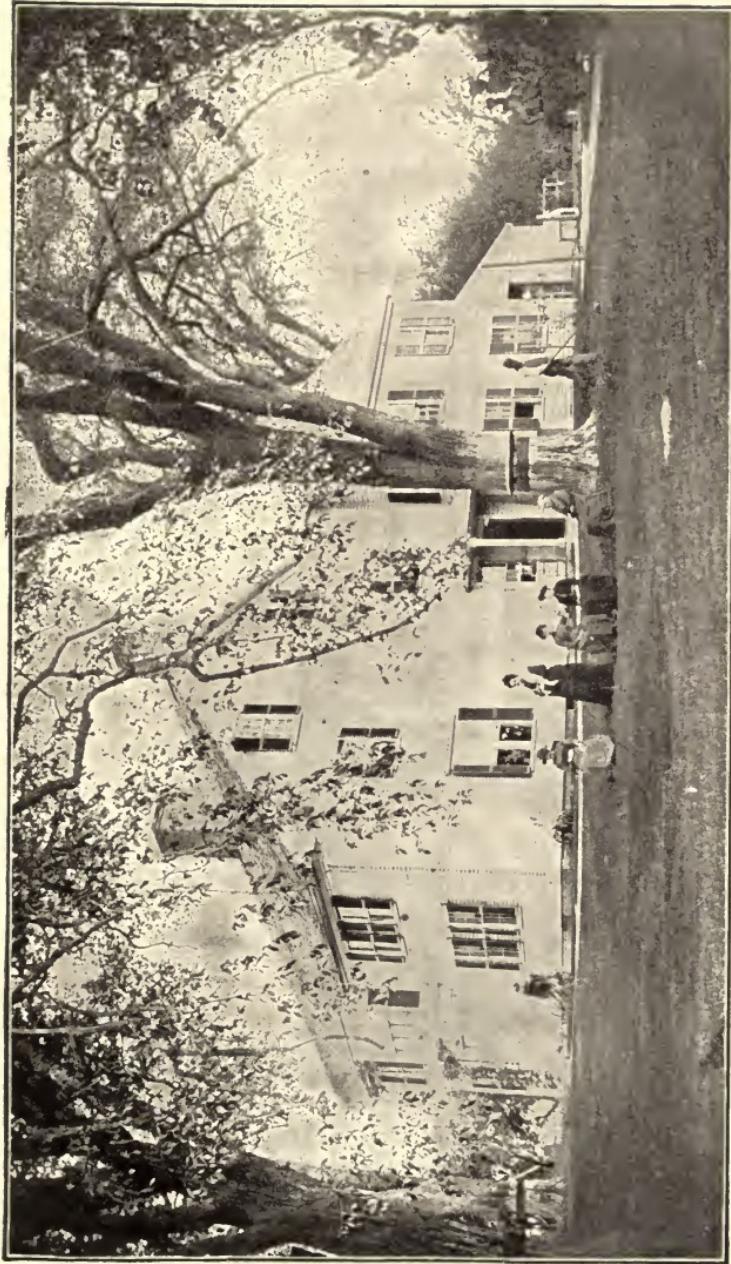
I am with Great Esteem

Gent<sup>n</sup>,

Your most Obed't Humble Servt.

P.S. Hope soon to hear the Fate of my Bill Transmitted by the Mast Fleet.

Capt. Atkins's Bill for £688 6s 6d sterl'g, notwithstanding, I wrote to send it back protested, if this Comes in Time protest it,



DOMINIE MANSE, BEDFORD.

Home of Rev. Nicholas Bowes, 1729-1754.



take 10 p. ct. Damages & Interest till paid. I hear, & there will be no Doubt of its being paid, if not done already.

JONA. BARNARD & Co.

BOSTON, Decemr 2d, 1762.

GENT<sup>n</sup>: Since the foregoing I Recd Via Halifax your favour of 31<sup>st</sup> Aug<sup>st</sup> with the Papers, referring to Mr. Cummings which I shall see Executed, as soon as may be. I Desire you to protest his Bill & keep it, that I may Draw the Interest & 10 pr. ct. Damages. The Papers shall be forwarded you, as soon as Authenticated.

Capt. Robert Stockton, in the Ship Hopewell, is a Transport still in the Service, and if the Bill be not paid, protest it, & beg you will apply to the Navy Board, & stop the money, as I don't ever Expect to see him again, and I know there is or was, when here a large sum due for him of sd ship. I thank your honouring Sword & Bell's Bill with Hill & Lamars, for the Wine. Hope there will be no Peace till the Parliament Setts.

I am Gent<sup>n</sup>,

Your most Obedt Humble Servt.

P.S. I sent you all the Pott ash I had made. If it will answer, I shall go into the manufacture.

JONA. BARNARD & Co.

BOSTON, Decemr 2d, 1762.

SIR: Capt. John Campbell, whose Note of Hand for £100 Sterling, I find among the Late General Whitmore's Papers, Copy of which I here Inclose you, is Gone from Newfoundland to England; he is of the 22<sup>d</sup> Regiment.

I give you this Notice, in Order that you may make a Demand of the Money in Case he may be met with there, and if you are paid by him, You will acquaint me thereof, that the original note may be deliver'd, to his order. I am afraid to send it now lest it should miscarry in War Time. I hope the £1000 I remitted by the Mast Fleet is Rec'd & Paid. The Articles of Furniture I Rec'd from Louisburg, are not yet sold, but shall take the first good opportunity to Dispose of them, they are old & little worth, and should there be a man of War or Peace soon, I will send your Papers & money for Ballance, if I cannot Procure Bills of Exchange, which are very scarce at present & not to be had.

I am Sir

Your most Obedt Humble Servt.

CAPT. EDWARD WHITMORE.

BOSTON 2d Decemr 1762.

GENT<sup>N</sup>: Since I put my Letters into this Ships Bag, I have Drawn the Inclosed Bill. Say, Wendell & Hancock on William Beth Esq. in Amsterdam value £110, sterg. When paid Credit my acc'tt. therefore; please to forward the Inclos'd Letter to him.

I am with Respect, Gent<sup>n</sup>

Your most Obedt Servt.

To MESSRS. JONA. BARNARD & CO.



HANCOCK MANSION, BOSTON.

BOSTON, Decemr 2d 1762.

SIR: We have wrote you severall Letters in the Course of the Summer, some of which we are certain arriv'd safe. We then Inclos'd you all the necessary Papers &c., relative to the ship William Galley, and are not a little surpris'd that we have not heard from you, owning the Receipt of Wendell's affidavit etc., but hope we shall soon. We have Taken all proper measures for your Interest, in consequence of which several necessary charges have arisen, in part of which we have this Day drawn a Sett of Bills on you, in favour of Messrs. Jona. Barnard & Co., Merchants in London for

£10, Sterling, which you will please to honour. Accontt of which shall be Transmitten you hereafter.

We are Sir,  
Your most Humble Servts,  
JOHN WENDELL.  
THOMAS HANCOCK.

To WILLIAM BETH Esq. in Amsterdam.

BOSTON, Decemr 28<sup>th</sup> 1762

GENT<sup>n</sup>: I have not yet Rec'd the Goods I wrote you for, hope they will soon arrive. This is chiefly to cover you the Inclos'd Letter from Mr. Will<sup>m</sup> Bowes,<sup>1</sup> who is a Nephew of mine & who has some time Dealt in hardware & inclined to correspond with your house. He now writes you for some Goods. You are safe in Dealing with him, & I am to Desire you will supply him & for what he now writes I will see you paid.

I am Gent<sup>n</sup>  
Your most Obed<sup>t</sup> Humble Servt  
MESSRS. DEVONSHIRE & REEVES.

<sup>1</sup> William Bowes above mentioned was the eldest son of Rev. Nicholas Bowes and his wife, Lucy Hancock, of Bedford. He was born Dec. 3, 1734, and baptized four days later by his grandfather, Rev. John Hancock of Lexington. Rev. Nicholas Bowes died as chaplain in the Northern army in 1755. William, with other children, sold the estate at Bedford. He had been taken, under his uncle's superintendence, into the business circles of Boston. His mother, Lucy Hancock Bowes, was married to Rev. Samuel Cook of Cambridge.

## CHAPTER III

JOHN HANCOCK ENTERS THE FIRM. GARRISON SUPPLIES.  
DEATH OF JOHN WENDELL. SIR PETER AND LADY WARREN.  
TORY ROW.

IN the following letters we have the first announcement of the co-partnership of Thomas and John Hancock.

Gent<sup>r</sup>,

Boston January 1<sup>st</sup> 1763

I am to Acquaint you, that I have at last got my Affairs into such a Scituation, as that I have this Day Taken my Nephew Mr. John Hancock, into Partnership with me, having had long Experience of his Uprightness, & great Abilities for Business, & that I can heartily Recomend him to your Friendship, & Correspondence, which wish may be long & happy. You will therefore cause my private Acc<sup>t</sup>. to be settled & the Balance that may happen on either Side carried to the Company Acc<sup>t</sup>. and what Goods I have wrote for, be charged, to Thomas Hancock, & Company, Mark'd T. J. H., & Consign'd to Thomas Hancock, & Compl<sup>r</sup>. You will please to probest the Bills of summing, & keep it, that we may draw the Interest, & Damages, the proper Papers will be forward<sup>d</sup> soon.

I wish you the complements of the season, & am with much Respect,

So. Miss<sup>r</sup> Jon<sup>r</sup> Barnard & C<sup>o</sup>.

Gent<sup>r</sup>, Your most Obed<sup>t</sup>. Servt<sup>r</sup>

BOSTON, January 1st, 1763.

GENT<sup>N</sup> : I am to acquaint you, that I have at last Got my affairs into such a Scituation, as that I have this Day Taken my Nephew Mr. John Hancock, into Partnership with me, having had long Ex-

perience of his Uprightness, & great Abilities for Business, as that I can heartily Recommend him to Your Friendship & Correspondence, which wish may be long & happy. You will therefore Cause my private Acc<sup>t</sup> to be Settled & the Ballance that may happen on either Side Carried to the Company Acc<sup>t</sup> and what Goods I have wrote for, be Charged to Thomas Hancock & Company, mark'd T. I. & H. & Consign'd to Thomas Hancock & Comp<sup>a</sup>.

You will please to protest the Bill of Cumming's & keep it, that we may Draw the Interest, & Damages, the proper Papers will be forwarded soon.

I wish You the Compliments of the Season, & am with much Respect,

Gent<sup>n</sup>,

Your most Obed't Serv't.

To MESSRS. JON<sup>A</sup>. BARNARD & Co.

On Jan. 7 the Hancocks address Matthew Woodford, Esq. :—

Mr. Winslow writes me the Provisions shipt to Chignecto arrived safe there, and is what will last him till mid summer & that the Bread from Annapolis proves much better than Expected, that with the Help of the French, will find no difficulty in Issuing it. I am very glad to hear this. I hope also it will Turn out better at Annapolis than Mr. Williams Expected, he writes me he has fifty French come in to Winter & Desires more Pork & other species & some fresh Bread, for the officers, which I propose to Send as soon as the Season will permit, and as I am Considerably in advance for you, shall soon send you the acc<sup>t</sup> thereof, as also the Charge, of Agency from Mr. Steel's Death, to Mr. Williams' Taking Possession of the Stores. Mr. Miles Greenwood, by the Officer's Orders, Issued the Provisions from 22<sup>d</sup> April to 16<sup>th</sup> May, Charged £6.5/, when Mr. Dyson, by Mr. Gerrish's order, Took Charge of the Provisions & he Charges Agency, from 16<sup>th</sup> May to 6<sup>th</sup> July, following. Both these Accots, I have Engaged at last to pay, for Steel's Salary can be paid no longer, by the Crown than to the Day of his Death; and when there was no Commissary, you are by Contract to find one. I have paid Mr. Gerrish also his Agency £91, to 6<sup>th</sup> November, Halifax Currency and Mr. Winslow's Acc<sup>t</sup> I expect every moment to be the same Time.

I am Sir, Your most obed<sup>t</sup> Humble Servt.

MATTHEW WOODFORD Esq<sup>r</sup>.

The garrisons being supplied by the Hancock firm were on the Bay of Fundy; Annapolis being on the western coast of Nova Scotia, and Chignecto was at the

isthmus between the bay and Northumberland Strait. The business seems not to run very smoothly, as may be inferred from a letter to Matthew Woodford on Feb. 10, 1763:<sup>1</sup>—

I have just Rec'd Your favour, of 8<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> last, & Duplicate of 7<sup>th</sup> Sept. by the Pacquet, and Observe their Contents, & Remarks you have made, on the State of Provisions, & Cash Acc'ts &c. I shall take the matters under consideration, Send



THOMAS HANCOCK  
(By Blackburn.)

Abstracts from your Letter to Mr. Gerrish, and do everything in my Power to Secure your Interest, but the strange Confusion the Provisions were in, & Deaths of Commissarys, one after another, made things so Intricate that I much fear, whether ever things can be made Clearer, than what I have done, and you must settle with the Government, in best manner you can, with what I have sent you, the often change also of Commanding Officers at Annapolis, & Chignecto & many dead since. Two killed at Newfoundland makes things worse & more difficult than otherwise would have been, as for Deschamps we can have no Redress. I Drove that matter, as far as it would bear. We have a very hard Winter & no Commu-

<sup>1</sup> Rev. Edward G. Porter, in a recent examination of the files of papers at the Province House, Halifax, N.S., found abundant evidence of the business relations between Thomas Hancock and the government. He furnished vessels and food supplies.

nication at present, with Annapolis or Chignecto, all froze up & no Navigation can Stir to or from thence.

I thank You for paying my Bill. I am now Considerably in Advance for I sent Provisions to Annapolis &c. as you will have seen by Letters I have wrote you the months past, & more I must Purchase soon, but hope the Peace will make them more Plenty & Cheaper; I congratulate You upon it, and think it a good Peace.

I have taken my Nephew, Mr. John Hancock into Partnership with me, and you will please in future to Direct to Thomas Hancock Esqr. & Company.

We are Sir,

Your most Obedt Humble Servts.

MATTHEW WOODFORD ESQR.

On Feb. 22 they write to Messrs. Jonathan Barnard & Co. for the following :—

2 prs. sup. fine Black Broad Cloth 7-4rs. d.

2 prs. good Black. @  
15.

1 prs. sup. fine Black Shalloon.

1 prs. sup. fine Blue Broad Cloth 7-4rs. d., deep Mazarene Blue.

The "Peace" which Mr. Hancock refers to was that of Feb. 10, 1763, which ended the colonial possession of France in North America.

John Hancock became a partner of the firm at a time when his uncle was ill, and the young man was burdened with great responsibilities. We learn from the following letters that Thomas Hancock was a sufferer from



MRS. THOMAS HANCOCK.

(Lydia Henchman. By Blackburn.)

the same disease that made life a burden to his nephew when engrossed with the cares of an extensive business as well as the responsibilities of an experimental government.

BOSTON, *March 18th, 1763.*

SIR: This serves to acquaint you of the Death of John Wendell, Esqr your attorney in the affairs of the Ship, William Galley. Our last Letters Acquainted you the Particulars of that affair, and I am very Sorry to find that there is no Prospect of having Justice done to the Concerned in this Country.

I must Desire that you will be pleased to Impower some other Gentleman to Receive the Papers & Settle the Acc<sup>t</sup> of Expences, which we have been at, and to Carry on the Suit. I am Sorry to Say, that my Health will not permit me to Attend that Business, having been Confined these three months with the Gout, & don't Expect to be able to attend to very little Business again, if any.

I am Sir,

Your most Obedt & most Humble Servt.

WILLIAM BETH ESQR.

Via New York. By Davis to Amsterdam.

On the same date Mr. Thomas Hancock writes the following to Lady Warren:—

MADAM: The Letters you sent me in Your Last to the Gentleman, Indebted to the Estate of Sir Peter Warren, were Delivered, and I am Sorry to Say have had no manner of Effect. I have been constantly applying, and have not Rec'd a Farthing from either of them since, and I am to Desire Your Ladyship to Send proper Powers of Attorney to some Gent<sup>n</sup> here to take upon them the Trust of Collecting in the Remainder of the Debts due to said Estate, that my Health will not permit me to go through that Business.

I have now been Confined above three months to my House, with a Nervous Disorder & the Gout, that I am not able to Give that Attention to Your affairs, which they absolutely Require. I beg therefore that Powers may be Sent over immediately to Receive of me the Books & Mortgages which remain unpaid, and settle with me for the Money I have Rec'd & Remitted You; in the mean time, I shall be doing everything in my Power to Secure your Interest.

Mrs. Hancock joins me in our Respectfull Complim'ts to Your Ladyship, and I am Madam

Your Most Obedt Humble Servt.

P.S. I have Rec'd. no answer to my Letters, respecting the Demand made on me, for Sir Peter's Subscription to the Church at Cambridge, with a Letter from Mr. Inman.

LADY WARREN.

The above postscript has reference to Christ Church, the first rector of which was Rev. East Apthorp, who



APTHORP HOUSE, CAMBRIDGE.

left the parish and the Province because society was not congenial to him. Among his associates and workers in this church were the families of Vassall, Inman, Oliver, Phips, Lechmere, Brattle, and such as lived in Brattle Street, Cambridge, at one time known as "Tory Row." By these letters we are impressed with the disadvantages under which merchants and mechanics conducted their business. The only means of conveyance and

communication with foreign countries were the clumsy sailing-vessel of the time; and several months were required to get an order filled in England for a few casks of common nails or a few domestic supplies, such as are ordered for Mrs. Hancock in March, 1763, viz., "One dozen bottles of very best double distilled lavender water;" or for the house in June, viz., "Seventy-six casks of nails. Let them be made of good stuff and drawn and full size, the cask of the same make with the London cask, not flat hoops."

## CHAPTER IV

FAMILY SUPPLIES. THE BOSTON PACKET. JAMES SCOTT FIRST APPEARS. SHIP COAL FROM NEWCASTLE. SETTLING GENERAL WHITMORE'S ESTATE. THOMAS HANCOCK FAILS IN HEALTH. GARRISON SUPPLIES. PROVINCE TREASURY AS A BANK.

On March 20, 1763, the Hancocks send an order to London for family supplies, and give some positive business directions:—

We wish the favr You will send one doz. Bottles of very best double distill'd Lavender water, for Mrs. Hancock, & please to let it be well Cork'd & Tied over with Bladder, & charge our accott. The Bottles our J. H. Brought, were so badly Cork'd that they were useless, those were put up by Miss Crowes; please to let them be carefull.

You will please to Protest the Bill on Beth & keep it by you as we shall forward the accott by next oppor'y, when I Expect he pays the Bill, or will put it into Chauncery, not so much for the Value of the Money, as for the Insult in Refusing payment. We look upon it very ill usage, & beg you will please to Signify so much to him by a Letter. After the money was Expended, in his Service & every method us'd for his Interest, he should refuse to pay the Necessary Expences, because it fail'd of the Success he Desir'd. Have wrote him to appoint some other persons.

MESSRS. JONA<sup>A</sup>. BARNARD & Co.

The firm address Matthew Woodford, Esq., in regard to provisions for garrisons under date of May 6, 1763:—

We have already wrote you by this Conveyance whence you had Lists to 20<sup>th</sup> March. We have already furnished Provisions to

the Different Posts for your 500 men, in part, and are now Sending more to last up to 25<sup>th</sup> Dec. next, and as this is the time of year to lay in Provisions, we are Purchasing every thing at the Cheapest Rates, and you may Rely every step shall be Taken to Advance y'r Interest. As soon as the whole supplies are gone, we shall Transmit you the acc't of our Advances, now Considerably in Advance. We have Drawn on You by this oppor'y for £1000, sterl'g in favr of Jona Barnard & Co. in part, which you will please to honour. We shall shortly Transmit a partic'lar acc't, & then Draw for the Remaining Ballance.

We Congratulate you on the Conclusion of a Peace, & hope we shall soon be able to take your Contract on a footing that will be satisfactory on all sides, be assured no one shall more Consult your Interest in all Respects & better carry on your Contract than —

Sir, Your most Obedt Servts.

To MATTHEW WOODFORD, ESQR.



LONGFELLOW HOUSE.

(One of the Houses of Tory Row. Built about 1759, by Colonel John Vassall.)

In a letter to their London agents, the Hancock firm write under date of May 6, 1763:—

We duly note what Mr. G. H. mentions Respecting our Concerns with You in a Vessell solely for the London Trade, which think will answer, & as soon as can see Mr. Folger, shall Determine; & if agreeable, shall then set up one that will be most suitable; of which more in our next.

We shall by next oppor'y Transmit our whole accott to Mr. Woodford & Remit you a Bill on him.

We are with Esteem Gent<sup>n</sup>

Your most Obedt Servts.

On the following date they write:—

We Desire you will please to ship us by very first oppor'y Fifteen or Twenty Tons of best Petersburgh Brack Hemp. This we want for whale Warps & must be of the very best quality. The last you sent was good, & desire you will keep up to the like goodness, which charge to our accott.

We are in great haste

Gent<sup>n</sup>

Your most Obedt Servts.

MESSRS. JONA<sup>C</sup>. BARNARD & Co.

Under date of June 7, there is another letter in regard to building the vessel already mentioned:—

We have Consulted with Capt. Folger in Regard to his Concerns with you & us in a Vessel which we agree to, and have accordingly set at a vessel to be Built in Boston by Hunt, a very good Builder. To be a ship of 160 Tons & think to call her the Boston Packett, to be Launched by the middle of September, every thing to be Done, in the best manner. Shall aim to have her a prime going Ship, handsome & to Carry well, plain but neat & for the London Trade, to Hold in Thirds, or other ways, if Folger does not Chose so large a Concern. We think Capt. Folger will take the Command of her, at least for two or three voyages & we need not tell You he is a suitable man.

Inclosed is a pattern of Scarlet Bays or Whitney, which we Desire you will send a piece of, to be very best.

Please to acquaint Mr. Lepley we Rec'd his letters & Powers & have Rec'd the papers of Mr. Royall & shall do all in our power for his Interest, & will write him by next oppor'y.

We hope soon to hear from You & having not to add, we remain  
with Esteem Gent<sup>n</sup>                            Your most Obedt Humble Servts.

Should the Devonshire, Capt. Hunter not be arriv'd when this  
comes to hand, we desire You will make Insurance to the full on  
Ten hogs<sup>s</sup> Pott ash we ship You by him.

BOSTON, June 14, 1763.

GENT<sup>N</sup>: We have none of Your fav<sup>r</sup>s unanswered. The Glass  
not yet Arriv'd. This is the Desire you will by first opp'y, Ship  
us the few things mention'd at Bottom hereof — & beg your care  
that the nails be well Drawn, the last you sent were extreme Bad,  
that we met with Difficulty in the sale of them, for their amo<sup>r</sup> we  
shall order you payment in Time.

We are with Esteem —

Gent<sup>n</sup> Your most obed. serv<sup>ts</sup>.

Please to Send

10 ps. Red narrow Bristol Bays

5 " Blue                  Do

20 pr. German Serge, half Blue not dy'd in the cloth & half good  
cloth coll<sup>rs</sup>

30 cask 10d Nails

20 Do 8d Do

6 Do 6d Do

10 Do. 4d Do.

10 Do. 20d Do.

Let them be made of Good stuff well  
Drawn & full size, the Cask of the same  
make with the London Cask, not flat Hoops.

MESSRS. DEVONSHIRE & REEVE.

On the same date, to London agents, they write : —

We are using all Expedition in Building the Ship, as many hands  
as can work on her are Employ'd & shall be carefull to have her well  
finished — We think we shall soon ship some oil in thirds with You  
& Folger. Folger Returns home this day & if the Price breaks as  
he Expects he will then make a purchase —

We shall soon write you again.

We Remain with Esteem

Your most hble serv<sup>ts</sup>.

Under date of June 27, 1763, the Hancock firm men-  
tions, for the first time, the man, James Scott, who plays  
a most prominent part in the business and domestic

affairs of the Hancock family for the next half century. They also say :—

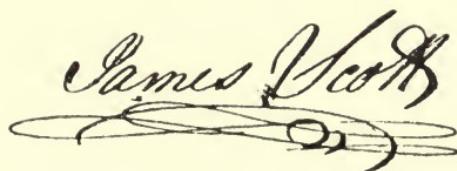
The Hemp, Duck & Anchor for the new ship you did not send by Jarvis as you Designed. We are going on fast with the Ship. We observe what Mr. J. H. mentioned Respecting the person Mr. Cahill Recommended for Mastr, at present are of opinion Mr. Folger will Command her. Should he alter his mind the preference will be given to this Mr. Scott.

We are much hurried at present, that we can't add, save that we are with Esteem Gent'n,

Your most obedt Humble Servts.

MESSRS. JONATHAN BARNARD & CO.

In these days, when coal is so abundantly supplied at our doors that the owners of forests of wood can hardly afford to have it prepared for fuel, we scarcely realize that sailing-vessels brought coal from England, and that our American mountains were then filled to bursting with inexhaustible stores of it. With what envious eyes many of the poor, dependent upon the countrymen who hauled their fuel on ox-teams to Boston, must have looked into the homes of the Hancocks, Faneuils, Henchmans, and others, where the family gathered about the grate, flaming with English coals, procured as indicated in this letter :

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "James Scott", with a decorative flourish underneath.

BOSTON, June 14<sup>th</sup>, 1763.

SIR : This day we Rec'd your favour of 14th of April last, advising you are Sending the Ship Mary, John Honnog, master to our address, with a Load of Coals. The Ship does not yet appear, but when she arrives, we shall Dispose of the Coals most to your Advantage ; it's unlucky there is a great Quantity of Coals in Towne, fear

they will not sell Immediately, in that case must be obliged to Store them, in order to Discharge the Ship, according to Charter, which you may Depend we shall at the smallest Expense possible, and do everything in our power to Serve Your Interest. We are Sir,

Your most ob'nt, Humble Serv'ts.

To BENJ'N BIRKBECK, ESQ'R. at the New Castle Coffee House, St. Mary's Hill, London.

After the sale of the freight, the following was written : —

BOSTON, July 29<sup>th</sup>, 1763.

SIR: We wrote you first Inst. of the arrival of Capt. Honnog & that the Coals were sold. We now Inclose You Accott of sales, with Capt. Honnogs Rec't for £200 Sterl'g; paid him, & our Bill on Messr. Jona. Barnard & Co. for the Ballance due to you being £22. 0. 3. We have charged no Commission on Cash paid or the Remittance, are Sorry the Coals fetch no better price, but we did the best we could — & as for ourselves there was no Prospect of Coals Rising. The Town well supplied & the Charge of Storing very high and might have staid unsold 12 mo. That we think we acted upon ye whole most for yr. Interest, in Disposing of them at the first good offer, and are persuaded no Coals will be better sold this Season.

The Ship was Dispatched in the Ten days agreeable to Charter party, & Capt. Honnog sail'd for Carolina 21<sup>st</sup>. Inst.

We Tender you any further Services in our Power, & you may Rely none shall more study your Interest in all Respects than Sir,

Your most humble Servts.

To MR. BENJ'N BIRKBECK, at the New Castle Coffee House, St. Mary's Hill, London.

On Aug. 2, 1763, in writing to their London agents the Hancocks say : —

Messrs. Folger & Gardiner applied to us to be concerned with you & them  $\frac{1}{3}$  in Oyle to be shipt to you, which we complied with & by this opp'y Capt Jarvis, we have shipt about 30 Tons. In-voice & % you will have in the Compa Letter. We have Shipt about 45 Tons on board Jacobson, who will sail in a few days.

We Desire you will please to pay Major General Bastide £12. 5. 3

sterg. & charge our accott being a Balla due from T. H. to Major Patrick Mackellar & p'd him by his order, & forward his Rec't.

By Jacobson we shall ship Two Trunks, & some cash for Capt. Edward Whittemore & when they arrive we pray your care of them & when he applies to Deliver them to him, we shall also forwar'd you a Discharge for him with the other Heirs of the late Gen'l Whittemore to sign.

We have not to add save we are with Esteem

Gent<sup>n</sup>

Your most Obedt humble Servts.

MESSRS. JON<sup>A</sup> BARNARD & Co.

The three following letters afford a few hints in regard to the manner of settling estates of deceased men, and to the last French war, and also of the physical condition of the senior member of the Hancock firm.

On July 4, 1763, in a letter to Capt. Edward Whitmore, who represents several heirs, Thomas Hancock says:—

SIR: I Rec'd your favr with the Duplicate of March 9<sup>th</sup>. I am Glad the Bill for £1000 sterl'g. was duly paid.

I here Inclose you Capt. Campbells original note of Hand for the Hundred Pounds Sterl'g. Genl. Whitmore lent him, which have Recorded in the Notary's office. I thought best to Transmitt this now that you may Demand the money of him.

I have got all my acotts Ready Relative to Gen'l Whitmore's Estate & should have transmitted them with your Papers, by this opp'y, with the Ballance in my Hands, but the Chief Justice, who is Judge of Probate is Gone the Circuit, and has been absent some time, at whose office the accotts must pass, which has put it out of my Power to do it now, but it shall be done at his Return, which will be soon.

I am Sir

Your most Obedt Humble Servt.

CAPT. EDWARD WHITMORE.

BOSTON, Aug<sup>st</sup> 1st, 1763.

SIR: This Advises you that I shall ship you by Capt. Howard Jacobson, on board the Ship Boscowen Two Trunks of Papers, One Hundred Guineas, a Gold Watch & Silver Cup, consigned to Messrs

Jona Barnard & Co., who will Deliver them to you on their arrival, these Guineas are the same I Recd. among Genl. Whitmore's money, are very short of weight, & to pass them here would be a Great Loss, as they must weigh here 5 dwt. 9 gr. & the Reason I did not send them before was the Insurance, very high, on accott of the war. I give you this Advice that you may Insure if you think fitt.

I shall write you more particularly by Capt. Jacobson, and am  
Sir

Your most Obedt Humble Servt.

CAPT. EDWARD WHITMORE.

BOSTON, Aug<sup>st</sup> 2, 1763.

DEAR SIR: I Rec'd your favr April 1<sup>st</sup> from Bath, Inclosing a Letter for Mr. Bastide, I herewith Return, as he Sail'd from hence to London, in Capt. Farr, some Time since. I hope the Bath will be of Service to you, of which shall be Glad to hear.

I now write to our Friend Barnard & Co. to pay you for Accts of Maj<sup>r</sup> Mackellar £12. 5. 3. Sterlg. Balla. due him from me, when you have Rec'd it, please to Acquaint him of it with my Compts.

The first of March last I Renewed your note for £300 & added the Interest to that Time £13, and Took a new note for £313, or must have Rec'd the Principal money out of the Treasury, the 20<sup>th</sup> June last, this new note is payable 20<sup>th</sup> June 1766.

I am very weak & cannot get well, my Legs & Feet swell much & I am Incapable of Doing hardly any Business, the Rest of the Family are pretty well.

Mrs. Hancock joins me in our most Respectfull Compts to you & your Lady, Mrs. Bastide & the Young Ladies.

I am very sincerely, Dear Sir,

Your most Obedt & most Humble Servt.

Dr. Cooper<sup>1</sup> & Mrs. Hancock send their comps.

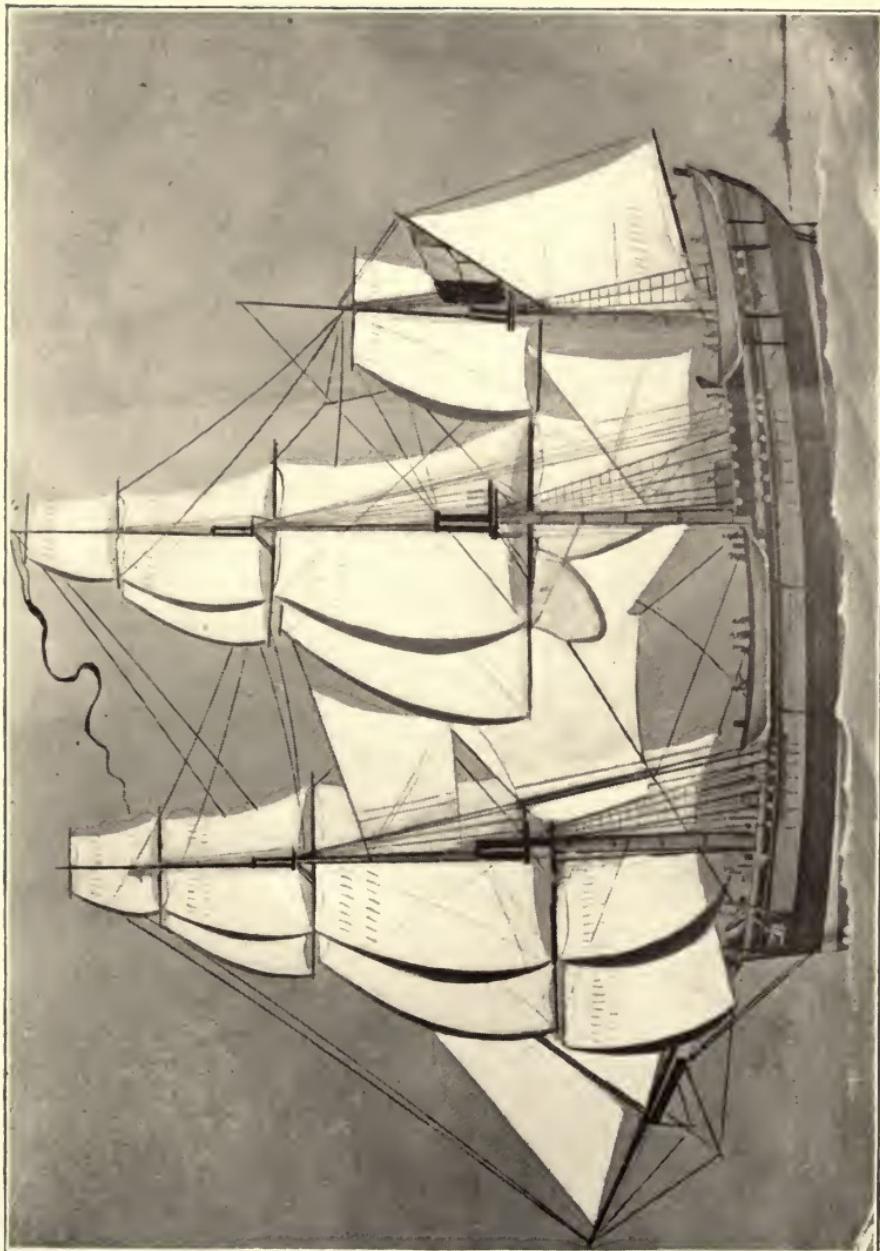
MAJOR GENERAL BASTIDE &c. &c. &c.

The treasury alluded to above and in other letters was the Province Treasury, which served as a bank of deposit for the people of the time.

Under the same date, a letter is written to Matthew

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Cooper was the pastor at the Brattle-street Church, attended by the Hancock family.

LIBRARY OF  
THE AMERICAN  
ANTIQUARY SOCIETY



BOSTON PACKET.



Woodford, Esq., from which more facts are obtained in regard to supplies for the garrisons :—

SIR: Inclosed you have three months victualling Lists, one from March 21<sup>st</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> April, 1763, for 13698 Rations, one from 18<sup>th</sup> April to 15<sup>th</sup> May 13424 Rations, one 16<sup>th</sup> May to 12<sup>th</sup> June 15093 Rations.

We have Rec'd no Letter from you since 7<sup>th</sup> March, have the Pleasure to Tell you, that, Mr. Williams has got clear of all the old Bread except 1140lb., but we were obliged to send him from Boston a Quantity of higher prized Bread for the officers, &c. to help it off & make 'em easy. We will Endeavor to get a Certificate from the Officers, if we can, that you may Recover this Loss, of the Government, as Mr. Gerrish Recommends.

As the Government are Repairing the Fort at Annapolis, suppose the numbers will be Augmented, Considerable of which Expect soon to hear.

To my Great Surprise, Mr. Gerrish writes me Mr. Townsend has forbid him to act any longer as Commissary for you. Copies of his Letters you have here Inclosed, as also one from Mr. Williams. We have wrote to Desire his Continuance, or to Recommend such an one as we may Depend upon Doing us Justice. We wish & hope Mr. Gerrish to Continue 'till can hear from you on this Head. We have victuall'd Chignecto & Annapolis up to Decem<sup>r</sup>, & some Groceries over done. Bread & Flour we Sent to Philadelphia for. As these articles come Cheaper & there is a Necessity soon to send six months more, to Chignecto, for the Navigation to that Place will not admit without great Risque, of Sending there after October & should a Cargo be lost, there would be no Replacing it again the whole winter & no Going to that Place, till April or May, with any safety, to Annapolis can send at almost any Time & shall Defer buying Pork, for that Place, till new comes in, to Compleat the next six months. The Reason for Sending so much Flour to Chignecto is they issue it instead of Bread, & it's a cheaper Freight.

We have Insisted on Issuing all the Rice they possibly can & they say they do, even to Troops Complaining of having so much Rice.

Provisions are still high. The Droughts for two years past made a Great Scarcity. Pork is now 15 Dollars pr. Barrel we bought hitherto for you Cheaper, but for the next six months, we must give more, are Going to Send to Philadelphia, & see what it can be had

for there. We have now a good Season & Like to have Great Crops, that next Year all Provisions must fall, propose to Send for Bread, Flour, Pork &c. to Philadelphia, to make up what's wanted, for the next six months, when we draw our own Bills of Exchange, & pay the ready money, as we did for the last Cargo, & is Cheaper than can be purchased here, although it's more trouble to us. Are now in advance for you. Accotts will be Sent as soon as we have Time to Get them out, when shall Draw for the Ballance.

You may Depend we shall on all occasions, act, what we think will be most for your Interest and are

Sir,

Your most obedt & most Humble Servants.

BOSTON, Aug<sup>st</sup> 17, 1763.

GENT<sup>n</sup>: By Jarvis, we wrote You & handed You Invoice of 212 Casks Sperm Oil, in thirds with You & selves, hope will arrive safe & meet a good market.

We now Inclose You Invoice & Bill of Lading of 119 Casks Sperm Oil, & 172 Casks Whale Oil, Shipt, on board the Boscawen, Howard Jacobson Master, to Your address pr Invoice, on acc't and Risque of you & selves, wish may arrive safe. We would just observe to You that this Whale Oil, is far preferable to what commonly is at Your market, it is quite white & sweet, & well manufactured. We therefore Desire Your particular Inspection of it, in the Sale, & we judge will fetch a better Price than the brown sperm, as the quality of this much exceeds the common sorts and you may Recommend it for Such. We also cover You the cost of the whole amo<sup>o</sup>, to £1436. 14. 4 Lawfull Money. One third of the n<sup>t</sup> Proceeds you will please to carry to the credit of T. H. & Co.; the other two thirds to be Settled between Yourselves & Folger & Gardner, to whom is left the Settlement of the Purchase of Your third here, & they will Draw for that Amount.

The new Ship goes on very well, we Expect she will be Launch'd by 15<sup>th</sup> Septr next, & shall be able to get her away by 1<sup>st</sup> Novr. We believe this vessel will answer Your Expectations, as she appears to be well Executed, and will be a fine Ship, at least no Pains is spar'd to have her so.

We are Gent<sup>n</sup>,  
Your most Obedt, Humble Servts,

THOMAS HANCOCK & CO.,  
FOLGER & GARDNER.

To MESSRS. JONA. BARNARD & CO.

The following letter of Aug. 23 shows that the legal steps have been taken in settlement of the Whitmore estate, and gives a hint at the working of the law of primogeniture as far as it was applicable in this country :—

You will see that the Judge has made a Distribution of the Estate here, according to our Laws & Decreed You two shares of said Estate, you being the Eldest son. I have acted in all things what I thought for your Interest. The Rank the General held in the Army, occasioned the expense of his funeral to be much higher than otherwise it might have been, but as he had all the Honors paid him according to his Rank, I am persuaded you will think the money well expended.

The keys of the Trunks are in the Bag with the Guineas.

## CHAPTER V

THOMAS HANCOCK'S PRIVATE CHARITY. LAUNCHING OF THE BOSTON PACKET. HER FIRST VOYAGE. JAMES OTIS AS ATTORNEY. OTHER NOTED LAWYERS. HANCOCK SENDS FOR WIGS. COSTUMES OF THE TIME. CORRESPONDENCE WITH LADY WARREN. AID TO PRISONERS AT BREST. HANCOCK FIRM LOST CONTROL OF NANTUCKET OIL TRADE. DEALS IN MORTGAGES.

BOSTON, *September 10<sup>th</sup>, 1763.*

MY DEAR SIR: I am to acquaint you, that both Capt. Peter Bulkley, & his mother Mary Bulkley are Dead. Peter made a Will & Gave all to his Mother, who Died before him, & left nothing in this Country, that I can find. They are both in my Debt, for which Reason I have Taken out Letters of Administration upon both their Estates, the Reason I did it on Peter's was on Acc't of the Estate said to be his, in your Hands, and I most earnestly Desire that you will please to let me know the Circumstances of that Estate, and whether there will be any thing finally to Receive, when and what it may be. I have Given Bonds to the Office & wholly maintained old Mr. Bulkley & Wife for many Years except what of your Goodness you advanced to her when at Boston, this I did in Compassion to the good old People, & if there is no Help for me from you out of that Estate at Epsom, I must wait for my Reward in the other World.

I shall be extreamly Obliged to you for a Line on this Subject, by first Opportunity, & to hear of your Health & Happiness.

Mrs. Hancock Joins in Compliments to both you & your good Lady, and believe me to be with great Regard

Dear Kilby

Your most Obliged Friend & most Obedt Humble Servt.

P.S. You shall have Certificates if you please, of my Administration from the Office.

CHRISTOPHER KILBY, Esqr.

In writing under date of Sept. 26, the Hancocks say :—

The 24<sup>th</sup> Inst. the New Ship was Launched & we shall use the utmost Dispatch to fit her for the Sea, & get her away as soon as possible. We think her a good vessell, well Built & believe will Answer your Expectations in every Respect, am sorry Loring is not in, as we much want that Mr. Scott whom you Recommend ; if she does not soon arrive, we must be obliged to fill up his Birth. We are much Hurried and add but that we hope soon to hear from you & that we are with Esteem Gent<sup>n</sup>,

Your most Obedt Servts.

MESSRS. JONA. BARNARD & CO.

A month later, in a letter to the London agents, we read :—

Our ship Boston Packett will certainly sail by the 10<sup>th</sup> Novr had we not met with Disappointments, in oyle, would have sailed sooner, in Regard to Insurance act as you Judge best. Should She not arrive in Time, believe it best to Insure £1600 or £1700 sterlg, on the Ship, Nathel Coffin, master. As to the Cargo, cannot ascertain any sum, not being wholly loaded, but should you imagine any Risque by her not arriving, You will make Insurance on her Cargo, to the amo of £2500 Sterl'g or £3000, upon the whole leave it you to act as You think best. The Ship & Cargo, being in thirds with You, ourselves, & Folger & Gardiner.

Every student of the Revolutionary period of our history becomes deeply interested in James Otis, and must welcome the slightest allusion to that brilliant man. His famous speech in 1761 against the "Writs of Assistance" gave him a most enviable reputation as an orator and as a lawyer. We find that the Hancocks lose no opportunity to recommend him as a lawyer to their commercial associates in England having business transactions here. It requires but little exercise of our imagination to see James Otis as he walks in and out the Hancock counting-room, lingers to take advice of the

senior member of the firm, or to exchange a friendly greeting with John Hancock, who was but a few years his junior.

BOSTON, October 27<sup>th</sup>, 1763.

SIR: We Recd. Your Letter of July 14<sup>th</sup> last, covering Your Letter & Power of Attorney to James Otis, Esq. which we Deld to him, in Consequence of which he Immediately Sett out for Newbury, are Sorry, without Success, as he will write You by this opportunity,

to which we Refer, find Mr. Harris's Effects were all made over & Secured to Messrs. Trichothick & Co. long ago. We had a Letter from Harris declaring, till Mr. Otis acquainted him, he never heard of Your Name, nor of this Demand; he has a good Character here & a fair honest man. These Misfortunes are certainly brought upon him by his Partner Cummings. We are really sorry for you. Mr. Harris has since Taken Passage for London, to Settle his

affairs, having not had a letter from his Partner, these 18 months. We should have been very ready to have assisted Mr. Otis in the affair & have paid Mr. Otis, his Demand £4. 10. sterling, which you will please to Repay to Mr. Barnard & Co.

We are Sir,

Your Most Obedt Humble Servt.

To MR ARTHUR JONES, Mercht.  
London.

The following letter of Oct. 29, 1763, suggests conditions of the market here which to the merchant of today seem almost incredible :—



JAMES OTIS.

This is to Desire you will as soon as possible & without Fail Ship us from Cork 250 Barrels of Best Irish Pork & 100 Firkins of good Irish Butter, the weight of each Barrell of Pork to be mark'd on the head, to be well Pack'd. This Article will be very Scarce & Dear here, that we must Depend upon your shipping it with the 100 Firkins of Butter to be here in all March if possible & if no oppor'y to this place, Ship it to Halifax to the care of Benj. Gerrish Esqr. and as soon as the next May Butter is fit to ship we Desire you will then ship us 100 Firkins more of the best new Rose May Butter. We rely on your care to have these articles of the best kind & purchased at the best Rates, which charge to our accott.

We beg your attention to this that we may not by any means be disappointed, as we shall be in great want of it.

We are with Respect

Gent<sup>n</sup>,

Your most hum. Servts.

MESSRS. JON<sup>A</sup>. BARNARD & CO.

In a letter of Nov. 4, 1763, Mr. Thomas Hancock writes:—

I can heartily Recommend the following Gent<sup>n</sup> of the Law, if Mr. Beth or Capt. Covenhoven think proper to Impower, with Mr. John Wendell & they may Depend any of them will serve them faithfully, viz., James Otis Esqr., Oxenbridge Thatcher Esqr., or Robert Auchmuthy Esqr.

These lawyers were all prominent at the opening of the Revolution. Thatcher's office was near the south door of the Old State House. Auchmuthy lived on School Street, and was a judge in the court at one time.

The Hancock firm were burdened with a variety of duties for people abroad. In a letter of Nov. 7, 1763, they give advice in regard to a land claim. Thus—

Inclosed you have a Return of the Land's value to which Refer. You'll observe there is 303 Acres taken into the Province of New Hampshire & in their Possession, & not to be Recover'd, as You are here informed, without an application to King & council; of this You will consider, whether it is worth your while to be at the

Expence of. There is many People in this Country who have Lands Taken from them in the same manner, & have gone through Law Suits. Lost their Cases. They no Doubt will be willing to join You, should it be worth your while to make application Home.

We have paid for Examination of the Records, Postage, of Letters, &c.

We are Sir

Your Most Obedt. Humble Servt.

ANDREW LESLEY ESQ.

The land trouble referred to above was doubtless the outcome of the adjustment of the boundary in 1741 between New Hampshire and Massachusetts.

In a letter of Nov. 9, 1763, we learn that the Hancock firm send for foolscap paper, and remind their agents that the last sent was too poor to take ink. A great variety of duties were intrusted to their foreign agents. On the 14th of the same month they send for a large quantity of grindstones to come by their new ship, Boston Packet, and close a long letter with the following :—

Our J. H. asks the fav'r that Mr. Harrison will please to get made & sent him 1 neatt Bag wig and 1 neatt Bob wig. Fashionable & of a light colour, the size of Mr. Barnard's will nearly suit the Tie wig Mr. Birch made which J. H. Brought with him fitted very well. The cost of them Mr. Harrison will charge in his little accott with J. H.

The above order, and others for family supplies, suggest the costume of the time. Whoever met with Thomas Hancock in his home, doubtless saw him dressed in a red velvet cap, with an inside cap of white linen which turned over the edge of the velvet two or three inches ; a blue damask dressing-gown lined with sky-blue silk ; a white satin waistcoat, with deep embroidered flaps ; black satin breeches, with long white silk stockings, and red morocco slippers.

If they met him on the street or at the warehouse, they noticed that he had changed his velvet cap for his bag or bob wig, and had on a large three-cornered hat ; in place of his flowered brocade he had on a gold-laced coat of red or blue broadcloth, with deep lace ruffles at the wrists ; had a sword on his side, and wore on his feet a pair of shoes with great silver or gold buckles.

But the costume of the elder Hancock could not have satisfied the younger. John Hancock in these days would be called a dandy. His toilet was elaborate. His shirt-front was trimmed with fine lace, and doubtless there was a great brooch stuck in it. His breeches were of green or red velvet, or white, lilac, or blue satin, and his fine shoes had the most expensive buckles.

These costumes afforded little comfort when the wearers were racked and tormented with the gout, and doubtless either Hancock would gladly have exchanged them for the menial's costume if they could at the same time have had the menial's freedom from the pain that dragged them down to death.

The vessel that carried the orders for wigs, etc., took the following to Messrs. Jona. Barnard & Co. :—

As Pork will be scarce & Dear here, we think, if it be at moderate Price, in Ireland, a cargo would come to a good markett, here to be Early. We have wrote You by the "Boston Packett" to ship us 250 Barrells & 100 Firkins of Butter, to be here in all,



COCKED HAT AND HAT-BOX.

March, if possible. We now Desire You to send us Double the Quantity at the lowest Freight, & if no oppor'y to this place, ship it to Halifax to the address of Benj. Gerrish Esq. Or if You prefer a Concern in Loading a small vessell to this place, we will stand the half, and think some Beef might answer, but it must be here early; if You do not incline, we must Depend You will send me the Quantity we wrote for, as soon as possible.

In a letter of Nov. 25 to the London agents we read :—

What of your Goods by Blake, that are on shore & opened, turn out well, except the single piece of scarlet Whitney we wrote for, which as we limited no Price & mentioned it was solely for T. H. & family's use this Winter, we Judg'd you would have been a little attentive to send it of the very best, had the expence been twice as much; instead of that you have sent a common Colchester Baize of a bad colour & so immoderately Coarse that it is entirely useless & some Disappointment to T. H. & will hardly answer for common sale at the Price. We are not apt to Fault You, but this we could not help mentioning & have to desire in future that you will please to, when any Article is wrote for Family use, to send it of the very best kind, cost what it will.

Thomas Hancock has occasion to write to Lady Warren again. The letter places before the reader the names of more of the lawyers of that time.

BOSTON, November 24th, 1763.

MADAM: I Receiv'd your fav'r of a Letter, wherein you Desired to pay Sir Peter's Subscription to the Church at Cambridge & that you had Desired Mr. Delancy to Remitt me the money, I have since Rec'd the Balla. of Majr Lockman's Bond, of poor Mr. Jones, who is since Reduc'd, & not worth a Farthing, and have paid me said Subscription out of that Money, and have wrote Mr. Delancey of it, & that he need not send me the Money.

I should be very glad, were it in my Power to Settle your affairs; but as my Health will not permitt, I beg you will Impower some other Gent'n to take the Papers, settle with me, & Collect the Remainder of your Debts.

I would Recommend to you, James Otis, Esq'r or Robert Auchmuty Esq'r, of the Law, or Nath'l Wheelwright, Esqr., or Nath'l Bethune, Esq'r., either of them will serve you faithfully.

Mrs. Hancock Joins me in best Comp'ts to you, and I am, Madam

Your most obed't & most Humble Serv'nt.

HON'BLE LADY SUS. WARREN.

The firm take upon themselves a new duty, and write, on Dec. 23, 1763, to London agents thus :—

We some time ago wrote you Respecting one David McCloud, who went a Ransomer for a vessell of Mr. Timo<sup>o</sup> Fitche's, we now Request the favr, You will please to write over to Brest, where he now is in Gaol, and order to be paid him, Five Pounds Sterl'g which charge to our accott. This we do at the Desire of his Father; & you will please to signify the same to him & beg if you can be any way servicable in setting him at Liberty, that you will please to do it, as Mr. Fitch says he has money in your hands, & has Desired you long ago to pay the Ransom.

In a letter of April 6, 1763, the Hancock firm acknowledge having failed to control the oil trade at Nantucket.

GENT<sup>N</sup> : We have wrote You already by this Ship of 2<sup>d</sup> Inst.: since which we have Rec'd Your favr of 30<sup>th</sup> Dec. and note the contents. Observed You had made near full Insurance on the Boston Packett. You say nothing of the Ship-master, nor, indeed any thing about her, should have been glad to have known the Character of Mr. Coffin, & whether You should like to Continue him in the ship, of which you are silent.

The schooner from Nantucket, sailing to your place with oyle, was very unlucky, more especially as it fetched so great a price, as it may be a means of their continuing that method, beside keeping up the price of oyle here. Capt. Folger did all he could to prevent her sailing, but they were Determined upon it.

The early merchants had to manage with mortgages as do modern traders. Witness the following :—

BOSTON, *February 9th, 1764.*

GENT<sup>N</sup> : I have taken Possession of Mr. Lewis Estate in Your names, which was mortgaged a security for his and Sewall's Debt to You, & can now sell so as to Receive your whole Debt, but the Power of Attorney I have from you, is not sufficient to give a Title to Real Estate, or I should have sold & Rec'd the whole of your Demands: I have therefore got a Power prepared agreeable to our Laws, which is here Inclosed. You will please to get authenticated & Return'd as soon as may be, for the Estate is mortgaged to two other People since, for more than its worth, but we must be satisfied, which can't be unless I Give a good Title, which can't be done until I have this Power & you need be at no other Expence at Home. I have Joined my Nephew in this Power, hope will be agreeable to you.

I am Dear Sir,

Your most obedt, Humble Servt.

MESSRS. CHRISTO KILBY &  
JONA BARNARD & CO.

## CHAPTER VI

PASSENGERS TO ENGLAND. WILLIAM ROTCH IN THE COMMERCIAL BUSINESS. JAMES SCOTT ADVISED TO PRUDENCE. DEATH OF THOMAS HANCOCK. FUNERAL CUSTOMS. JOHN HANCOCK AND NANTUCKET MERCHANTS. GROUP OF OLD BOSTON MERCHANTS. LONDON INSURANCE.

MRS. EDWARD How goes to England in one of the Hancock vessels to seek redress of the government. In the vessel going next after her departure, Mr. Thomas Hancock writes to her thus:—

BOSTON, *February 10th, 1764.*

DEAR MADAM: After wishing you a good voyage & all Imaginable success in your affairs, this is to Desire you, when You have Rec'd such money's of the Government, or other ways, as shall enable you to pay the Balla due to the late Compa<sup>r</sup> of Apthorp & Hancock, that you will be so kind as to pay my half of the same to Messrs. Jonathan Barnard & Co. merchts', in Size Lane, London for my accott; and their Receipts shall Discharge the Estate of the late Edward How Esqr from all Demand's upon said Estate.

I am with great Respect,

Madam

Your most Obedt Humble Servt.

P.S. Mr. Wheelwright will deliver you the accott with a Letter.  
To M<sup>RS.</sup> MARY MAGN How.

After several letters in regard to a renewal of contract for supplying the garrisons at Nova Scotia, and in adjusting former accounts, the Hancocks write to their London agents:—

BOSTON, July 9<sup>th</sup> 1764.

GENT<sup>N</sup> : The Boston Packett sail'd 27<sup>th</sup> of June & hope she is well on her Passage—as she has had a fine time & wish this may find her safe with you & beg your utmost Diligence to Dispatch her back, to this Place ; if not a full freight better to get away early than lose a freight of White Oyl in the Fall, which shall be ready for her.

The Brigt Lydia, James Scott, Masr will saile in six or eight days, to your address, with a valuable cargo of Sperm Oil, in Equal Thirds, with you, Folger & Gardner, & ourselves, as to Cargo. The Brigt on your accott and ours, in equal halves, if agreeable to you. She is a very good Vessell & a cheap one. We think it best to make Insurance, at least in part & on Rec<sup>t</sup> of this, desire you will please to Order Insurance to be made at the Lowest Prem<sup>o</sup> Viz't.

On Brigt Lydia, James Scott, Masr at and from Boston to London £800. On Cargo & Freight, £2200, 3000, Sterling. \* \* Oil is extremely high and scarce which you will Notice in the Sale. We have been so very Lucky in purchasing a Cargo of Oil, for this vessell & think we have Gained a Great Point, when Mr. Rotch's vessell lays waiting for Oil & she began to Load before Our Brigt was Ready to Take in & indeed while the Boston Packett was Load'g. You shall have some particulars hereafter.

Give us leave out of friendship just to mention that we think you are not altogether so Regular in Your answers to Letters & Sending accotts of Sales, &c. as is Expected ; we have heard many Complaints of that Sort, which is apt to Prejudice Persons against your House. We could not say so much, as could have wished, as there is a great Proof of it as to our own accotts. This you will Excuse & hope there will be no occasion for the like Complaints in future.

You will duly Notice that we did not Recommend Mrs. How to you for Credit only for any little Civilities or Services you might please to show her, as she was Distressed.

We can't add but that we are Sincerely

Gent<sup>n</sup>

Your most Obedt Servants.

MESSRS. BARNARD & HARRISON.

Mr. Rotch alluded to in the above letter was probably William, brother of Francis Rotch, who built the ship

Dartmouth, and placed her in the merchant service. They were sons of Joseph Rotch. The family at first appear at Nantucket, from whence they went to Dartmouth, which in part became New Bedford. Mr. Francis Rotch named his vessel, built in 1767, for the old town, where he took up his abode at about the time of his introduction to Mr. Hancock.



ROTCHE WAREHOUSE, NANTUCKET.

There seemed to be a spirit of rivalry existing between the Hancock firm and William Rotch, both being engaged in the same branch of commerce.

In a letter of July — , 1764, to Barnard & Harrison, sent by Brig Lydia, James Scott, master, the Hancocks write thus :—

We could wish, tho' think it something unlikely, that you could procure a Freight for the Brigt immediately back to this Place, or to Halifax, if to be had without waiting, but rather than she should be Delayed we would advise that the Brigt should with all Dispatch

proceed to New Castle & Receive on board a full Load of Coals, for this Place, which we think will answer pretty well, especially as it is not probable, many ships will come from thence, as our Marketts have been so dull. In case she proceeds to New Castle, or on any other voyage, you will keep her fully Insured, till her arrival at Boston. We shall have a Load of Oyl Ready for the Brigt on her return here. Messrs Folger & Gardner must pay 50 / sterl'g per Ton, Freight for one third the cargo, which Suppose you will Charge them, and Credit our accott, for one half their freight.

You will please to advice Mr. Scott against incurring any needless Expences on the Brigt, & pray Recommend Prudence & care to him, as he is Young, & let him advise with you, Respecting his conduct. The Brigt, has we think Provisions Sufficient to bring her back & don't know any stores she is in want of.

This letter concludes with an order, which reveals the suffering condition of the senior member of the firm :—

Please to send by the Boston Packett a covering for a Bed, to be had at Mr. Fisher's, the Eiderdown Warehouse in Litchfield street, Oxford market, pray be very particular in the choice of a good one, as it is for our T. H.'s own use, in the Gout, about nine or Ten Guineas' Value. It is call'd an Eider down Quilt or Covering; a Bale of Crocus for Bread Bags, 7 or 800 yds., yd. wd.; 1 Ton of Good Sound Cheshire cheese; 10 chests of Good Florence Oyle. Send none but new. If the Brigt goes to New Castle pray order us from thence Ten Groce of best Quart Champaign Bottles, for own use, to be well pack'd in Basketts.

But a few more letters are recorded during the month, and there follow several blank pages suggestive of the silence in the leading business house of the province. The senior member, Thomas Hancock, died on Aug. 1, from apoplexy, being attacked while at Old State House, where he was serving as one of his Majesty's council.

The funeral of Thomas Hancock was a ceremony in keeping with the times, when gloves and rings were freely given, according to the rank and estate of the deceased. There was observed on this occasion, the

custom of hanging the escutcheon of a deceased head of a family from the window or over the entrance of his dwelling when the funeral ceremony was to begin.

The manner in which a house was prepared for a funeral is thus described by Mrs. Stowe in "Old Town Folks":—

"It was a doctrine of these good old times, no less than of many in our present days, that a house invaded by death should be made as forlorn as hands could make it. It should be rendered as cold and stiff, as unnatural, as dead and corpse-like, as possible, by closed shutters, looking-glasses pinned up in white sheets, and the locking-up and out of sight of any pleasant little familiar object which would be thought out of place in a sepulchre."

The funeral of Thomas Hancock was the last when the extremes of custom, in the way of mourning-badges, were observed.

The people of Boston decided upon a non-importation system, to effect which they decided to abolish the expensive costumes, as well as many other things.

The plan went into effect, and was demonstrated at the funeral of a noted man, who died soon after Mr. Hancock.

It seems to have been a carefully studied plan of Mr. Hancock that his death should occasion no interruption in the business of the firm.

As soon as the needful ceremonies were over, and the legal steps for settlement of the estate had been taken, John Hancock took his pen to give orders in his own name.

His uncle had given him a large share of his fortune of about seventy thousand pounds sterling, and he was prepared to continue the business, and to extend it, as may be inferred from the following letter:—

BOSTON, Aug<sup>st</sup> 17, 1764.

GENT<sup>N</sup>: I now Inclose you Invoice & Bill of Lading of thirty one barrelles & four hogsheads of potashes shipt on board the Elizabeth, Edmd Wendell master to your address which you will dispose of to the best advantage & credit my account for the produce. I must desire you will have it all weighed, & dispose of it at the smallest tare you can. I hope it will meet a good markett.

Inclosed is a Certificate from the Custom house of the several Cargoes of oyl & the whale bone referred to in my Letter in Co wth Folger & Gardner. I cannot now be so particular as I could wish, being much Engaged & hurri'd. Pray dispatch the Boston Packett & Brigt Lydia as early as possible that they may return with a Load of oyl —.

The whole of the oyl shipt to Your Markett this year will Center with You & Champion & Haley, & Buxton & Symmes, & you may depend in the fall that you will have as much or more, for the plan they have laid of Engrossing the whole oyl, will not Effect, neither shall it, for I determined rather to increase than lessen my Concerns in it. My visit to Nantuckett was very agreeable & formed such Connections as to prevent any disappointment, I can have what Oyl I please & of the best men there, which of course, takes from the other Channell and is very chagrining to Mr. R——h but he knows my mind.

I continue in the same store, and propose carrying on the same business as with my late Uncle, by myself, of which shall write you more hereafter. I should be glad of your opinion respecting oyl & Pott ashes, whale bone, &c., & to know your inclinations as to concerns in oyl, whether you would approve a concern in more than what will load the ships & Brig's. Inclosed you have a Certificate of landing the Tea & Partridge, so long depending in the Custom House.

You will please to observe that Folger & Gardner settle with You for the third of Cash of all the Cargoes except the Brigt Lydia's Cargo, which I shall settle, & your third of sd Cargo being £779. 13. 3. sterl'g. You will please to carry to the credit of T. H. & Co. & I have accordingly chg'd it to you & you will credit sd account with one third the produce of all the Cargoes of oyl &c.

I am apply'd to by Mr. Timothy Fitch and the Parents of David McCloud to undertake to get him releas'd and Mr. Fitch will reimburse the Expence.

I must desire the favor You will please to write over to Brest to

know if he be there, and if he is, that You use your best Endeavour to obtain his Release on the best terms you can, the Ransom is £200. sterl'g, & no doubt some Expences to pay, which pray Endeavour may be as moderate as possible & I must desire You will please to order it to be paid as soon as possible, and charge to my account. Send me the amount with all charges that I may receive it of Mr. Fitch.

I must further desire that when he is releas'd You would procure him a passage to this place, if any vessel of mine in the River, I would give him his passage in her. Pray get him releas'd immediately.

I must beg leave to Referr to my next, for what I have further to say, and am with the greatest respect

Gentn

Your most obedt. Servt.

The cost of Brigt Lydia and Expences of Boston Packett shall be sent by next.

TO MESSRS. BARNARD & HARRISON.

Again, to same agents, Mr. Hancock says :—

We shall be glad You will be Explicit in Your opinion respecting oyl & whether You would chuse a Concern in more than what will load the Ship and Brig. The whole of the oyl will centre with You, Champion & Haley, and Buxton & Symmes. You will have a large Quantity in the Fall, for we are determined the plan they have laid shall not take effect, and should they have any Conversation with You on the subject, pray be cautious how you open Yourself to them & keep them ignorant of our Concerns, for J. H is determined to pursue this business, which takes from the Channel of R—h and Centres it with you. Pray, in all Your Letters inform us what you can of oyl &c. & be frequent in your advices, this may be of use to us.

We have not to add but that we are with much respect,

Gent<sup>n</sup> Your most obedt Servts.

On Aug. 20 Mr. Hancock writes to Matthew Woodford, Esq., informing him of the death of his uncle, of his intention to continue the business, and his desire to continue supplying the garrisons at Nova Scotia. He

keeps a sharp lookout for the conditions of the market in oil, and writes his London agents on Oct. 10, 1764:—

I was a little surprized that Champion & Haley should get for the oyl in Coffin £29, & ours but £27. I dou't not you'r doing your utmost, but such things are apt to give a Prejudice to some People, but you may depend I shall always do my utmost for the Interests of Your house in all respects. I must beg at all events You will send me the Co. Accounts settled. I long e'er now Expected the sales of the oyl, & pray close those accounts as soon as possible.

Mr. Hancock notifies Barnard & Harrison that he has drawn bills on them in favor of several gentlemen, amounting to £3,668. This was done between Sept. 24 and Oct. 12, showing that he did somewhat of an extensive banking business together with his other branches.

The list of names is of interest, as among them are men who were prominent in Boston's affairs of that time and during later years:—

Thomas Amory, who built a stately edifice at the corner of Park and Beacon Streets.

Samuel Abbott.

William Bowes, a cousin of John Hancock, of whom more will be said.

Burnell & Barker, a Nantucket firm.

John Cunningham.

Samuel Eliot, a reformer in the Fire Department and a dealer in dry goods in Dock Square.

Royal Tyler, Esq., one of a young men's club in 1777-1778. They had a room at the corner of Court and Brattle Streets, where they met and discussed politics, literature, and war (says Drake).

Benjamin Clark was one of the company who threw the tea overboard.

Christopher Clark, one of fifty principal merchants who charged crown officers with appropriating to their own use moneys belonging to the Province.

William Gray, familiarly known as "Billy," was a man of mercantile eminence, and the largest ship-owner in America.

John Appleton and Nathaniel Appleton, names familiar to Boston society.

Rufus Green, an officer in Trinity Church.

J. and D. Waldo.

Mr. Hancock renewed the contract for supplying the garrison ; shipped to London agents a cargo of oil by the Tuton, Thomas Robson, master, and on the 25th of October wrote to Barnard & Harrison thus :—

Since my last I am favoured with yours & Capt<sup>s</sup> Diney, Bruce & Marshall. The latter arrived Yesterday. Bruce got here four days before Marshall. Your's by the Boston Packett. Inclos'd Invo & Bill of Lading of the Goods on board him ; but was greatly disappointed in not having all the things wrote for, particularly the Lemons & oyl, which would come to a very good Markett I beg you would at all times be careful to send all my Goods at the first opp'y, as it makes a great odds in the sale. You also neglected the Eider-down Quilt & many other things which if you do not send by Scott will be a great disappointment to me. I am also at a Loss, to account why my Hemp & Beer & many other things should be omitted in my own ship & others have the preference wh<sup>ch</sup> is certainly now the case, & I must insist upon it that in future none of my goods be turned aside for any others whatever for the disappointment to me is greater than if even I was oblig'd to pay a double freight, but perhaps you may have reasons for this but to me it appears pretty extraordinary. The dispatch you gave to the ships is very agreeable. You may depend she will be immediately returned to you with a good Cargo of Oyl

I am with perfect Esteem

Gent<sup>n</sup> Your most obedt Serv<sup>t</sup>.

It will be noticed that Mr. Hancock speaks of his vessels by the names of the commanders. This was an idiom of the day in common use by all merchants, and is noticed in the literature of the time.

It is also noticeable that while great care was taken to

secure insurance on vessels and cargoes, it was all done in England, which must have been an added disadvantage in the conduct of business.

Although the general system of insurance may be traced back for several centuries in England, its adoption in this country is of a comparatively recent date. Mr. Joseph Marion established an insurance office in Boston as early as 1724, but he met with little encouragement for many years. While the commercial relations of the colony were confined closely to trade between it and the mother country, it was evidently thought best to obtain the needed insurance upon the vessels making transatlantic voyages in the insurance associations of England.

## CHAPTER VII

EFFORT TO COLLECT BILLS IN LONDON. JOHN HANCOCK AIDS RELATIVES AND FRIENDS. AN EYE FOR BUSINESS. IN QUARANTINE. RESOLVES TO DO NO MORE BUSINESS ON SHARES. WATCHES COMPETITORS. SMALL-POX INJURES BUSINESS. SENDS TO LONDON FOR SHOES. HIS BOSTON SHOEMAKER. SENDS FOR SEA-COALS, TEA, HEMP, ETC.

In a letter of Nov. 17, 1764, to Barnard & Harrison, Mr. Hancock writes:—

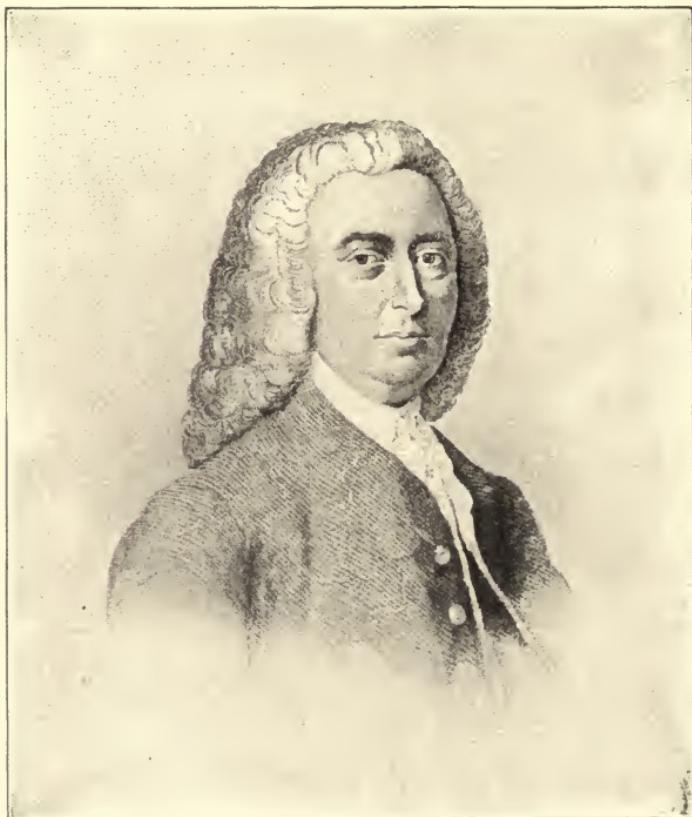
I should be very glad you would give some attention to recover payment of the Bills long ago remitted you by my late uncle. Say Govr.<sup>1</sup> Shirleys Bill & many others, if you can obtain payment thereof, or use your influence, shall take it a favour. I beg your opinion, whether it is probable they will ever be paid. I should be glad you would give me some advice as to the circumstances of Admiral Knowles, as he is indebted to my late uncle £300 sterl'g.

I have given a letter to Messrs. Blanchard & Hancock (the latter a brother of mine, who declined staying with me and chose the hardware business). Mr. Blanchard has the character of an hon-

<sup>1</sup> In 1755 William Shirley was made major-general, with the superintendence of military affairs in the Northern colonies. The loss of Oswego was attributed to him, but he was later exonerated from blame. He was made governor of the Bahamas, and stayed from Boston until 1769. It was during this absence that Mr. Hancock endeavored to collect the bill, which was doubtful, as Governor Shirley died a poor man, March 24, 1771.

The Shirley and Hancock families were allied by business and social relations. When Colonel George Washington came to Boston in 1756 he was received at the family residences of these notable men; and when he came, in 1775, as commander-in-chief of the Continental army, he was obliged to see the Shirley mansion used to quarter troops, while he did what he could to protect both houses.

est, industrious man, & I prevail'd on him to take my brother into partnership ; they write you for goods by my desire. I think you are safe with them, however, I will be answerable to you for five hundred pounds sterl'g on their accounts and shall give them a bill



*W Whirby*

for that sum ; hereafter you will use your judgment as to a farther concern with them beyond the £500, as I shall not be answerable for any more. Mr. Aurthur Savage<sup>1</sup> is Passenger in Marshall, his

<sup>1</sup> Drake says : " Arthur Savage was an officer of customs in Boston. He is credited with having had the ball which killed General Warren at

business home is to obtain a credit for goods, he is recommended to me as an honest, industrious man, but no great capital. His friends have prevailed on me to give him a letter to you, which I have done, and further, if he succeeds and should apply to you for a few goods I will be accountable to you for three hundred pounds & if he does not pay you in time that amount I will see you paid, but I do not mean by this to strengthen his credit with you, so as to give him a further supply, neither will I advise to it, but when you see him you will be able to judge for yourselves, and act your pleasure.

This I do purely to serve him, and at the Earnest request of his friends. The Brigt (Brigantine) Lydia is not yet arrived. I wish she may soon get in as I have all her Loading ready & will dispatch her if good weather in twenty days. I cant but approve of Capt. Marshalls conduct in every Respect & hope he will Merit your countenance.

I have sent you a large order for Goods. You must be carefull that they are well chosen & best of their kinds. I must beg that the oznabrigs now ordered may not be purchased of the same person, that the two last parcels, you sent us were, for such importations are not to be countenanced, about a yard of it outside very good & the remainder unfit for any use, that it is turned upon my hands, and I can never sell it. Do be particular in your orders for the whole of my goods.

The memo Inclosed of Garden Seeds & Trees you will please to send by Marshall.

I am with perfect Esteem  
Gent<sup>n</sup>

Your most obedt Servt.

On Nov. 17 Mr. Hancock notifies his London agents that he has shipped on board Boston Packet, John Marshall, commander, a cargo amounting to £6,675 17s. od. lawful money, and adds :—

We were obliged to leave out two tons of fine bone. Marshall could not take it on board, it shall come in the Brigt. This we men-

Bunker Hill, which he gave to Rev. William Montague, rector of Christ Church."

tion the rather as you make Provision for a Markett, for it will be  
the whole to come to your Markett this season.

We are with much Respect

Your most obed<sup>t</sup> Servt.

J. H.

FOLGER & GARDNER.

Mr. Hancock writes to Messrs. Wright & Gill, also to Mr. William Jones, informing them of the death of the senior member of the firm, and solicits business as in the past.

He also introduces Messrs. Blanchard & Hancock to these firms, also to Devonshire & Reeve.

Ebenezer Hancock was the younger brother of John Hancock. He was employed by the firm; but soon after the death of his uncle left the situation, and set up business with Mr. Blanchard. Of Ebenezer more hereafter.

Mr. Arthur Savage and Mr. Arthur Jenkins were both introduced to Barnards & Harrison as men worthy of their confidence.

Under date of Nov. 23, 1764, Mr. Hancock addresses his London agents. He makes complaint of neglect on their part, and cautions them not to be remiss in that line again. He further adds:—

The goods I have wrote for you will please to send & let them be marked I & H. I wrote you that to prevent trouble, you might charge the cost of trunk of goods I. W. to my account, since which I have opened the trunk & on examination find the Cambrick & Lawn very badly charged. So high in Price & bad in Quality, that unless you can obtain an allowance for me I must loose money, for their Charge with the Duty I have paid here, will be more than I can sell them for; do think of this & make me an allowance.

I observe you have sold the oyl pr. Hunter, the White & Brown well sold, but wonder there should be such a difference in the Price

of whale oyl between your house & Mr. Lane's. Mr. Rowe<sup>1</sup> of this Place owner of Capt. Hunter, ship'd some whale oyl at same time of Hunter, and has an account of Sales of it, at £23. 15/. and yours only £21. the difference is a handsome Profit, but make no doubt you did your best.

I beg at all events you will use your utmost Endeavours that Marshall may be here by the last of March, fill up with Hemp for me rather than detain her with you. You will have goods enough of your own I think to give her the quickest despatch, nothing in my power shall be wanting to return her from hence.

I hope soon to hear from you, being with tenders of my best Services & Sincere Esteem,

Gent

Your most obed<sup>t</sup> Servt.

If those whose strongest impression of John Hancock has been that of pride, vanity, and conceit, will read his correspondence thus far, they will, at least, credit the neglected man with shrewdness and acumen in business transactions, and readiness to aid others less fortunate than himself. There is no room for doubt or uncertainty as to the slightest detail of each business direction.

Quarantine laws were rigidly enforced, the small-pox being the dreaded scourge of the port. In the following letter we see the annoyance of it to this merchant :—

<sup>1</sup> Mr. John Rowe was a prominent merchant and co-worker with John Hancock in the patriot party. Gordon says that it was Mr. John Rowe who was suggested as a candidate for representative to General Court, when Samuel Adams said, looking to the Hancock mansion, "Is there not another John that may do better?" They were both elected, and served together on many important committees in succeeding years.

Mr. John Rowe's business extended to traffic in negro slaves, as witnesseth *Boston Post Boy* of Dec. 19, 1763. "Just imported and to be sold by John Rowe at his store, a few likely negro boys, and two negro men between 20 and 30 years of age. Also New Castle Coals, Lisbon Salt, Fyal wine, Quart bottles by the groce, Hemp, Russia and Ravens Duck, etc."

BOSTON, Decr. 6, 1764.

GENTS: I have at last got the Brig safe up to town, and tomorrow will be clear, and next day begins to take in that, if the weather, which at this Season is very precarious, should hold good, I determine to put her to sea at farthest by 20<sup>th</sup> Instant, and had it not been for the unlucky accident of the Small Pox, she would have been on her way to you by this. I should be glad the masters would be carefull, who they take on board as passengers, for this misfortune of the Smallpox, on board the Brig, was wholly owing to a Negro Servant of Mr. Williams, who had just recovered of that disorder; this will at least create us an Expence of £50. stg.<sup>1</sup> You will please to order Insurance to be made on Cargo, of Brig, Lydia, James Scott Master, as & from Boston to London viz. on oyl, Bone & Freight, £3400 sterl<sup>g</sup>. in thirds, with you, Folger & Gardner & myself, at least you will insure my third & F & G. Your own you will order as you think proper. You will also please to insure £800. stg. on vessel, at least you will insure my proportion of her at that rate. You will act your pleasure as to your part. . . . I am now determined not to hold any Concerns, nor carry on the whole of other peoples business, with my Money. I have long enough done that. I am sorry that the Boston Packett is under such an incumbrance. I would willingly take J. F.'s third even at the first cost. I am really ashamed to have so many owners. I wish to have her wholly between you & I, and is what I shall attempt in the spring. You are not sensible the trouble I have. I have paid every farthing Cash for the whole cargo of Boston Packett, and had it all to provide as much as if J. F. had no connection with her, and not one Cask of oyl from him on board her, which I think is hard fate, and what I can't submit to, for I can't no way advance my own money and give others the advantage of it, and this is not a sudden determination of my own but was what my late uncle was freely bent on, even if he had sold the Boston Packett and built another. . . .

<sup>1</sup> When ordering negroes for domestic service, Boston merchants were careful to get those who had recovered from the small-pox. In 1739 Peter Faneuil sent the following order to his London agent: —

"Please to buy from a sale of fish, for me, for the use of my house, as likely a straight negro lad as possibly you can, about the age of from 12 to 15 years, and if to be done one that has had the small-pox, who being for my service, I must request the favor you will let him be one of as tractable disposition as you can find."

I will write you fully by Scott, if Goods are shipt to order. I beg you will let me know who they are for, as it will prevent much trouble. I would also just mention that many things shipt on board Boston Packett to Newbury, Salem, &c. especially little things are a loss to the Ship as that freight is seldom obtained, that the fewer of these the better. I also wonder that Rotch & others should have Hemp on board the Brig Lydia, and mine omitted, but I will say no more of this. I have opened my mind, & hope in future I shall not be neglected for the sake of transient customers.

My best Comps attend you & I am with sincere esteem,

Gent<sup>n</sup>

Your most obed. Servt.

MESSRS. BARNARD & HARRISON.

BOSTON, Decr. 7, 1764.

GENT<sup>N</sup>: I have just now receiv'd your favour by Capt. Doggett, and am obliged to you for your Expression of Condolence therein.

Whenever I have occasion for any supplies from your place you may rely I shall apply to you, as the Experiences my late uncle & I had of your fidelity & equity in the Transaction of your Business will induce me thereto. At present I am in want of only a few articles, for which I now inclose you Invoice, and you will please to send them by first Conveyance in the Spring, let them be well chosen & best of their kind marked I. & H. & charged to my account for which you shall have a punctual payment.

I should be glad of any occasion to render You service and when I may be useful I beg you will freely Command.

Gent

Your most obedt. servt.

The dullness of trade ye year past, owing to the Small pox has left me a Stock of Goods for some time.

MESSRS. DEVONSHIRE & REEVES.

The postscript with which the above concludes furnishes a sidelight by which we catch a glimpse of the condition of the town during the year 1764. Small-pox was so prevalent that it was a time of general depression. No adequate system had been adopted for controlling the scourge. Inoculation had not become general;

in fact, Governor Bernard, in January, issued a proclamation forbidding it until all other means for controlling the disease should have failed. Merchants and traders removed their goods out of town, and set up business elsewhere.



OLD STATE-HOUSE.

stroyed Harvard Hall, with the library, etc. Subsequent letters will show us that the Hancocks were liberal in making up the loss.

On Dec. 9, 1764, with orders to his London agents in regard to insurance to be placed on the brig Fly, he says :—

“ Gilbert Deblois did not stop short of Weston, with his large stock of hardware, and had a commodious shop and store adjoining the house of Mr. Josiah Smith, inn-holder, on the Great Road to Worcester, at the sign of the Half Moon, near the meeting-house. He had New England rum by the hogshead, barrel, or less quantity, W. I. goods, etc.”

The General Court met at Cambridge instead of in Boston; and while there the fire occurred that de-

I should be much obliged if your G. H. would be so kind as to ask Mr. Brookbank if he has not lost my measure, to make me a dozen pairs of very neat shoes, which you will please to send me & pray pay the cost, which charge my acct.

Doubtless the shoes were for special occasions, as Mr. Hancock had a shoemaker in Boston. In a letter of Dec. 19, 1764, he writes to London agents thus :—

You have a little memo<sup>o</sup> of Leather &c. from my shoemaker, which I would be glad you would send & charge to my account, consigned to me, it may be charged in my Invoice only let the che'k of this particular be mentioned in the Bill of Lading. Mark the Package H. R.

Other orders under same date are :—

- 10 Tons best Petersburg Braak Hemp — in half bundles, not to be broke if I pay more freight. Talliers on each Bundle, strongly tied & pray Your orders to Scott that they be kept whole & not broke on any Consideration.
  - 100 p<sup>s</sup> best and stout Russia Duck.  
If freight are Scarce You may send me twenty or thirty chal-dron of Sea Coals, if low.
  - 6 chests of best Bohea Tea, besides what I wrote for to come in Marshall.
  - 20 chests of best Lisbon Lemons, to come between Decks, to be well chosen & pack'd.
  - 10 pt of very best Hyson Tea in Canisters for family use, pray let it be good.
  - 6 chests very best Florence oyl meal.
- • • • •

I must close as I am determined to push Scott away, shall write you by Blake in about 15 days. I hope soon to hear from you, & am with sincere Esteem

Gent

Your most obed. servt.

Mr. Hancock made a specialty of "sea-coals" in his retail trade, which may be inferred from his advertise-

ment of Dec. 25, 1764. We also learn that he had a store nearer the business centre than his wharf. The location and merchandise are described as follows:—

"Store No. 4, at the east end of Faneuil Hall Market, a general assortment of English and India Goods, also choice Newcastle Coals, and Irish Butter, cheap for Cash. Said Hancock desires those persons who are still indebted to the estate of the late Hon. Thomas Hancock, Esq., deceased, to be speedy in paying their respective balances to prevent trouble."



HANCOCK TABLE AND FURNISHINGS SEEN IN OLD STATE HOUSE.

(Copper kettle made for Hancock by Paul Revere, having "P. R." stamped inside the cover.)

## CHAPTER VIII

REVENUE LAWS MAKE BANKRUPTS. SIR PETER WARREN.  
HANCOCK TRIES TO FORM AN OIL TRUST. JOHN HANCOCK'S FINANCIAL STRAITS. HANCOCK'S DINNER PARTY WITH WILLIAM ROTCH. CHOSEN ON THE BOARD OF SELECTMEN. DRAWS FROM THE PROVINCE TREASURY. INVOICE OF SILKS.

THE determined opposition to the course of the government had a ruinous effect on the business of Boston and vicinity. Of this Mr. Hancock writes to his London agents:—

BOSTON, *Jan'y 21, 1765.*

GENT<sup>N</sup>: The great uneasiness and Losses here owing to the failure of some Persons of note, say Nathl. Wheelwright Esq., John Scollay, Joseph Scott & some others has put us all into great anxiety, as trade has met with a most prodigious shock & the greatest losses to some people thro' Mr. Wheelwright's failure ever known in this part of the world. I am entirely clear except the Bill I sent you of Scollay's which beg you would get paid. I would advise you to be carefull who you trust, times are very bad & precarious here & take my word, my good Friends, the times will be worse here, in short such is the situation of things here that we do not know who is and who not safe. I hope it will stop but there's no judging under the present circumstances of things. I am very sorry I have wrote for any goods, at least for so many, but I must do the best I can. I hardly know who to trust.

I am particularly led to write you now on this subject, by an Application from a neighbor of mine, Mr. Thomas Symmes, who is largely concerned in a Contract with Mr. Wheelwright and a French gentleman at Bourdeaux, the particular circumstances I refer you to Mr. Symmes' Letter it is for a cargo of Fish sold them, and the Cash to be remitted you by the French Gent from Bordeaux, for

Symmes accot the vessell is upon Symmes accott, the Event of this depends upon the Circumstances and Honour of the French Gent: Mr. Symmes writes you on this Subject, & as I take him to be an Honest, industrious man, I am to beg you will interest yourself in this affair for him & spare no pains to Endeavour to obtain Satisfaction agreeable to Contract. I am confident you can be serviceable and hope you will be able to recover it for him, as he is greatly distressed and is a large concern to him. I apprehend Exclusive of this contract affair Mr. Symmes is safe, at least he has that Character, he is very active and industrious. I recommend his affairs to you and beg you will serve him all you can. In any concerns of yours this way you may rely on any service in my power, being with esteem  
Gent.

Your most obedt Servt.

The affair of Wheelwright's failure with such aggravated Circumstances is the greatest shock to trade that ever happened here.

John Hancock had occasion, in the settlement of his uncle's estate, to write to Lady Warren.

BOSTON, January 5, 1765.

MADAM: You have undoubtedly before this heard of the melancholy event of the death of my late Uncle Thomas Hancock Esq. This circumstance has devolved the Settlement of his affairs upon me and occasions my writing you on the Subject of your connections with him. The Bond & Mortgages of the late Sr. Peter Warren, left in his hands, the multiplicity of affairs I am concerned in puts it out of my power to undertake the Settlement of those matters. That I am to request you will be pleased to give orders to some Persons to receive the Bonds &c. of me, & at same time impower the same Gent<sup>n</sup> to settle the account with me, & give me a discharge. I now inclose you the account as it stands on my late Uncle's Books. Ballance due to you £47. 19. 4 sterlg. which I am ready to pay to your order. I should think some Gent<sup>n</sup> of the Law here would be most like to forward the settlement of them, Robert Auchmuthy Esq. or James Otis Esq. are noted Gent<sup>n</sup> of the Law, either of them I believe would undertake it & think you may rely on their Integrity.

You will please to take this matter under your consideration & let me hear from you on the subject.

I am Madam

Honble Lady Warren

Cavendish Square, London.

Your most obedt. servt.

Sir Peter Warren, to whom the reader has been previously introduced, was the naval hero of Louisburg. He came to Boston in 1746 with General Pepperell (Sir William). He was a friend and business correspondent of Thomas Hancock, whose hospitality he had fully enjoyed. At the time of his death in England there was unsettled business in Boston, which was intrusted to Thomas Hancock, as the letters have revealed. A descendant of Sir Peter was General Joseph Warren, killed at the battle of Bunker Hill.

On Feb. 7, 1765, in a letter to Barnards & Harrison, Mr. Hancock says :—

I shall be glad you will take the trouble to overlook some late Letters & be explicit in your answers, as hitherto we have had no reply & desire your Consideration thereon particularly on the charge of a double commission on the affair of the Provisions from Ireland, & several other matters, referr'd to your determination to all which I Entreat you will make some reply.

I rec'd the things you ship'd me by Hatch tho' some of them much out of time, say the cheese, & oyl, which were to have come in the Brigt<sup>t</sup> the cheese I lose money by, Having sold it for less than the first cost & think it Extreme high charged at least much higher than others had it in the same ship. Mr. Caleb Blanchard had a parcell at the same time from Champion & Haley @ 33/ & you charged mine 40/. The difference is a good profit. I think I have a right to Expect my Goods on as good terms as any one whatever, & unless I can have them so, its not worth my attention. You must not let other houses out do you, why should there be such a difference in that Article from your two houses? Do think of it & if its a mistake give credit for the over charge.

I am preparing all our N Engd accounts to be transmitted to you, as also the accounts of Sewall & Lewis, which shall be sent by next Packett when I shall write you fully. Pray dispatch Marshall as quick as possible & you may rely on my best Endeavours to return him to you. Times are very precarious here you must make the most of your remittances as Money is Extremely Scarce & trade very dull. If we are not reliev'd at home we must live upon

our own produce & manufactures. We are terribly burthen'd, our Trade will decay, we are really worth a Saving. I shall soon write you again & am with great respect

Gent.,

your most obedt. servt.,

JNO. HANCOCK.

*I am preparing our N<sup>o</sup> long accounts to be transm<sup>it</sup>ted to you, as also the Accounts of Swale & Lewis, which shall be sent by next Packett when I shall write you fully. — Pray despatch Marshall as quick as possible & you may rely on my best endeavours to return him to you. Times are very precarious here you must make the most of your remittances as Money is extremely Scarce, & trade very dull. If we are not relieved at home we must live upon our own produce & manufac<sup>t</sup>ures — we are terribly burthen'd our Trade will decay we are really worth a saving, I shall soon write you again & am with great respect*

*Gent Your most obedt Servt*

*M<sup>o</sup> Hancock,*

Trusts, corners, and kindred terms may be regarded as modern devices in trade; but the wire-puller of to-day had his progenitor in Provincial Boston. Mr. Rotch, the Nantucket merchant, had a purpose when he dropped in to chat with John Hancock; and the object of Hancock's extending to his brother merchant an invitation to dine with him was that they might, under more favorable circumstances, come to an agreement in order to control the trade in oil. Witness this letter:—

BOSTON, April 5, 1765.

I duly note what you say of oyl and the Conversation you had with Buxton, Symes & Enderby. I wish their and your determina-

tion as to a limitation in the price of oyl could take effect. You do not so well know the disposition of some of their connections here as I do, having had frequent conferences on the Same Subject, but to no Effect. You do not consider the number of oyl Buyers here who, not Considering the consequences, Give any price for oyl for the sake of getting their Ships away, tho' I am full in the belief that the number of ships in the London trade must soon be Lesen'd. I should be very fond of keeping the price down, but if others will



WILLIAM ROTCH, MERCHANT PRINCE OF NANTUCKET.

give a greater price I must not have my hands tied. I must either sell my vessels or keep them running. I shall, however, be better able to write you more fully by next opportunity as I can know more of Mr. Rotch's plans and designs and whether he is inclined to be on amicable terms, tho' he this day called upon me, and mentioned what his Friends wrote and that he was disposed to Effect their plan, and desired we might confer together on the Subject, and I appointed a day for him to dine with me, and no one else, when we shall talk matters over, after which I will acquaint you the Result. The West India oyl is now coming in. I really don't know how to act, it will not do for me to be idle and let others (and

R—h) buy up, which you may depend will be the case notwithstanding all your attempts and plans, and even the promise of some here, but I shall do my best, at the same time I imagine Rotch must load Deverson and Calef, even if oyl be much higher than £14, & I much Question whether it will be so low. But if the price should break higher I must purchase sufficient to load Marshall at least, for it is not worth while to keep a ship to make but one voyage a year however this you may rely. I will purchase on as good terms as anyone, for you could never intend that I should not purchase at any other price than your Limits, that would be giving the whole advantage to others and Establishing their vessels in the Trade, but I can better write the state of things after I have conferred with Mr. Rotch.

Capt. William Doble of this place who is Connected in the Newfoundland trade, and is now going thither applied to me to mention him to your house, he has long been connected with Lane & Booth, but has taken some disgust at their conduct, he is largely connected in the Fish trade, and is a man of Interest in the Land, he writes you, to whose Letters I refer. You may depend on his Engagements & I believe you will find him a profitable and agreeable Correspondent on his Branch. You will please to acquaint him with your connections in Spain & Portugal as he ships several cargoes thither yearly.

I shall soon forward all my accounts. I have been much confined in the course of the winter which has prevented my closing those accounts. Do write me particularly as often as you can the state of things with you.

I shall soon look for Marshall, am glad you are like to return Scott with a full freight as soon as the price of oyl Breaks. I shall then act what I think most for the Interest of the whole.

I shall soon write you again & am with Esteem,

Your most hble servt.

Our Provincial history scarcely affords an instance where two prominent people, more unlike in habits and tastes, sit at meat together. William Rotch was a non-resistant Quaker merchant of Nantucket, and extensive ship-owner, having nothing in common with John Hancock in the line of patriotism. The Nantucket of 1898 holds exalted traditions of William Rotch as the

soul of mercantile honor. His store, built in 1772, is standing, owned by the Pacific Club (retired whalers), and is in part occupied for a custom-house and signal-station. There hangs in the club building a picture of the "Boston Packet" fitted as a whale-ship.

The financial condition of the Province is well set forth in a letter from Mr. Hancock to Barnards & Harrison.

*April 18, 1765.*

GENT: Last night only I received your favour of 7<sup>th</sup> January by the Pacquett, and duly note the Contents observe all the Bills I remitted you hitherto advised of are paid; wish to hear Scollay's Bill is paid. I am much obliged to you for honouring my Bill, as also those from Philada could I be so successful here as to collect only one Quarter of my debts, I need not draw any Bills, but such is the scarcity of that article & the Poverty of this country, that I cannot place any dependence on monies here, and suppose shall be forced to draw farther Bills, for Marshall & Scott's Cargo unless I should take my money out of the Treasury, which would be hard fate. I shall however draw as little as I possibly can, in which case you will please to honour such my Bills which shall be confined as much as possible to your connections. I duly note the several insurances You have made. I am sorry Marshall had so long a passage to you. The despatch given him here was great and had not the Easterly winds with you sett in just as they did he would have had a very quick passage, but its all for the best.

The impressions formed by Mr. Hancock at the little dinner party could not have been very gratifying, for he soon writes to his agents:—

I have had a long Conference with Mr. Rotch agreeable to your desire, Respecting oyl trade. He appears to be disposed to be upon amicable terms and to be aiding & tells me he will strictly abide by the instructions he has received from Buxton Symes & Enderby, how farr: Time can only discover. You are not so well acquainted with that Gent as I am; but I will for once try him, which but for your desire, I should never have even had a thought of doing. I shall be as circumspect as possible as to the oyl. I

may purchase for Marshall & Scott & give him all the despatch I can, tho' I don't imagine he can depart hence till the latter end of June from the present prospect. I sometime past wrote you that I had used my Endeavours with Jona. Burnell and Paul Bunker of Nantuckett both wealthy men, to enter their Connections with you, which they then consented to do, and find by your Letter it took effect. You may depend I shall not be wanting to do your house all the kind offices I can, and when an opening of that kind, and I am confident you are safe, I shall not fail recommending your house.

I observe the Adventure is coming to me as yet have no act of her. She must be in soon. I shall give Edwards all the dispatch I can. I am sorry you ship'd the Articles of Lemons and Sallad oyl, the former the town is at present full of and the latter will not fetch the first cost. I have not been able to sell the six chests you ship'd me in Hatch it comes so much cheaper in another channel, that you will be well off even to get the first cost, however I will do the best I can, and push them off immediately at the best price. as to the Coals, it is not the season to dispose of them, that unless I can get a tolerable price for them, it would be best to store them, but I shall be better able to determine that matter after they are arrived, at present no markett for them I shall however dispose of all the other articles directly agreeable to your order, at the highest price. Capt. Blake is no doubt with you long ago.

I am obliged to you for paying the Ransom of Davd. McCloud. I wish to have the whole charge as soon as possible as Mr. Timothy Fitch is to reimburse me the whole amount.

In addition to the cares of his own business, John Hancock had the added responsibility of being one of the Selectmen of Boston. He was chosen on that board at the town-meeting of March, 1765. His lamented uncle had occupied that position for many years, and the honor was most gratefully transferred to the young man. The town early placed the name of Thomas Hancock with that of Peter Faneuil, for he had by his last will made provision for an asylum for the insane. While encomiums of praise for the noble acts of the deceased merchant were being sounded in the ears of his

nephew, who was carrying out his requests, there came to the busy man rumors of a Stamp Act. Merchant vessels often brought items of news from over the ocean long before any official announcement was made. But people were credulous of such reports, whether welcome or otherwise. The Stamp Act was passed on March 22, 1765, and early in April we find John Hancock writing to Barnards & Harrison, agents in London, thus :—

I hear the stamp act is like to take place, it is very cruel, we were before much burthened, we shall not be able much longer to support trade, and in the end Great Britain must feel the ill effects of it. I wonder the merchants and friends to America don't make some stir for us.

Some of the fortunes of a merchant are touched upon in the following letter to the London agents :—

In the course of my connections in Trade here, I have been obliged to take a new ship of about 200 Tons, she is now ready to Launch & every thing ready to fit her away immediately—Henry Smith—master. I propose her to South Carolina & London to your address, when I shall either order her to be sold or proceed to New Castle for Coals, at present am undetermin'd which, tho' rather think the former. I shall soon write you further respect'g her & as to Insurance.

If the Plan of the Brig with Barker and us goes on I propose to call her the *Harrison* to which imagine you will not object.

I beg you will give me the earliest advice as to price of oyl, Whale Bone, Pott ashes &c. for my government, and do write me by all oppy. Your frequent advice as to those articles will always be of Service.

You may rely I shall use my Endeavour after Marshall & Scotts arrival to give them the best dispatch and on the most easy terms I can, tho' I fear from the number of ships in the London trade & of Consequence a number of purchasers that oyl will not be so low as you expect. In the course of another year, I shall be at a better certainty with respect to oyl having concerns in general whaling vessels, with persons at Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard, that

with Common Success I may meet a large Supply out of my own vessels. I have now four vessels and believe another year shall increase ye number.

I shall soon write you again. pray write me by all oppy, & forward me all our acotts. My best Complts. attend you & believe me with perfect Esteem.

Gent<sup>n</sup>.

Your most obed. & most faithful servt.

J. H. best respects to his particular friend Mr. Harrison, begs his excuse for not writing him by this, hopes he is well, & will write him a long Letter.

Mr. Hancock writes a business letter to London agents, in part as follows:—

BOSTON, May 13, 1765.

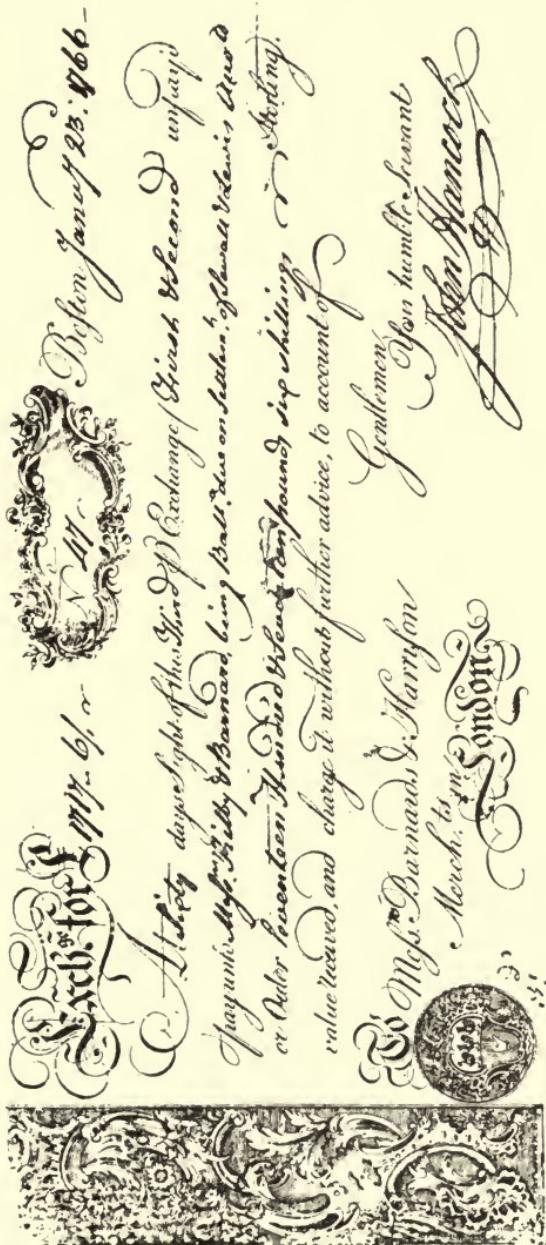
GENT<sup>N</sup>: I cannot enlarge having money matters to attend to just now, shall soon write you largely. I am ashamed that I have not wrote your J. B., with the State of Sewall & Lewis affairs, two things have prevented, one is hurry and the other a want of receiving the rents, I have a promise of it when I will remit it him. it requires more attention, as it was wholly conducted by my late uncle, and the matter is not so clear to me.

I will soon as possible send you all N. Engd matters, till time will admit you must Excuse me. I am heartily sorry for the great Burthen laid upon us, we are not able to bear all things, but must submit to higher powers, these Taxes will greatly effect us, our Trade will be ruined, and as it is, its very dull — My best respects to you and Connections. I am very truly

Gent<sup>n</sup>. Your most faithful hble. servt.

MESSRS BARNARDS & HARRISON.

From what we have thus far seen of John Hancock's letters, we must be convinced that a commercial business was conducted largely by correspondence. Many clerks were kept busy making copies of original letters, there being no labor-saving device then in use. The exact date of sailing of a vessel was not at all times easily determined, and letters were prepared and depos-



REPRODUCED BY COURTESY OF JOHN M. GRAHAM, PRESIDENT OF INTERNATIONAL TRUST CO., BOSTON.

ited, and several were frequently sent in the same vessel to one agent.

Under date of May 17, 1765, John Hancock writes:—

I have already wrote you by this opportunity since which I have the pleasure to acquaint you that Capt. Edwards in the ship Adventure is arrived in a Passage of Five weeks from Cowes. No Accott of Marshall, hope he will be in soon. I am sorry to tell you that the prospect of the sale of the Adventures Cargo is very Indifferent. I will however do my utmost to obtain the best price, but believe I must Dispose of the Lemmons oyl, Bottles & junk at publick Auction: the Coals I may get a Tolerable price for. This Vessel just upon sailing cant enlarge, but that I will use my utmost Endeavour for your Interest, & Dispatch the Ship to So. Carolina as quick as possible. The ship must have a new Foremast as her old one is entirely gone.

I shall soon write you again till when I am,

Your Very Humble Servt.

Four days later, to same agents, Mr. Hancock writes:—

The foregoing confirm copy of my last, since which I have received your favours, by the Capt. Marshall Jarvis & Davis, & duly note their contents. It was very unlucky that Marshall was so long delayed but there is no help for it. Scott was entirely unloaded before Marshall arrived. He is now Floored with tar, waiting for Oyl on which subjet I can't say any more at present, not having any advices from Nantct, since my last to you. I shall as soon as possible dispatch both him and Marshall on the best Terms I can in which I shall be very cautious.

The Brig Fly, Capt. Farrah in a Gale of wind put away for the West Indies, and arrived at Antigua, and heard she left that place for London on the last of Feby. that suppose she is with you. I fear I shall be a great Loser by her. You must do the best you can for me, acted quite right with the oyl men, you Contracted with, much better than to enter into the Law.

Your Lemons by Edwards came in very bad order. I fear they will not fetch the first cost, I shall dispose of them as also all the other articles to the best advantage and Endeavor to act most for your Interest in all respects, which has ever been my Study.

I am much obliged for Your Trouble in sending me the man Servant, and for the little articles for my own use, the man appears to be a Sober man; and the articles very agreeable, partic'y, my Silk Cloths, a choice of my own could not have pleased me better, you omitted six pair black Silk Hose which would be glad you would send me.

The servant sent over to Mr. Hancock was doubtless a colored man, and was particularly for his own service, as Mrs. Thomas Hancock had a retinue of negroes willed to her by her husband. We are obliged, however, to conclude that the New England climate did not agree with this servant, for we read in the Granary Burying Ground, on a moss-covered slab: "Frank, servant of John Hancock, Esq., lies interred here, who died 23d of Jan., 1771." We infer that this servant must have been faithful to his master to have merited and received this memorial stone, so uncommon at the graves of that class of menials. "No. 16, Tomb of Hancock," was all that marked the merchant's grave until a very recent date.

I am not a little surprized that you lay so much stress on my not sending You the Bill I mentioned on Mr. Woodford, and that it was a disappointment to you. I kept a regular calculation between all the Bills I drew on You, and the Bills and other Remittances sent you which at only first cost of the several cargoes here, after you had paid all my Bills would leave with you at least 2000£ sterling, and if any Profits on the cargoes, a much larger Sum, that I much wonder you should write me for remittance. I look upon it I am Entitled to as long credit for my Goods as any Gentleman in this place, and am at a loss why I cannot carry on my Business on as good footing as others. It is a Universal Rule here to draw Bills when Cargo is shipped, even for the whole amount which was not the case with me, for I left a considerable Sum in your hands and I look upon it, Considering the Extent of my Business that there is no Market in England, but would thank me for my Business and pay all my Bills, even if a little in advance. I am not fond of any unnecessary disputes, my disposition to serve Your house is sincere &

I think I have somewhat conducted thereto and I shall ever study to cultivate our Friendship and promote Your Interests, but really Gentlemen when I find I am wrote to in a manner I think I do not deserve, and in Terms that I judge you do not write your other correspondents, I can't help being uneasy, for I will venture to say no one Person makes larger or more timely remittances than I do. This matter I referr to you, & beg to know why I can't have as much indulgence and Credit, as others, for I look upon it that I left Sufficient in Your hands even to discharge the cost of the whole Goods by Marshall.

However to avoid any reflections I now inclose You Harrison Gray's Bill of Exche on Jasper Mauduct, Esq. dated 21st May No. 238. in my favour, value Two Thousand Pounds sterling. When paid You will please to Credit my accott. therefor, after which I beg I may know the state of my accott. and that my accott. curr<sup>t</sup> may be sent including every Charge. If you would send my account oftener I could better judge & I desire my accott. may come every six or nine months. I do not want to put any one to the Inconvenience of advancing money for me.

I would not have you think that I am disposed to enter into any disputes, farr otherwise, but should be glad to establish myself a little better than I think I am at present.

I hope soon to hear from you. I shall write you again shortly when I hope to be able to be more explicit as to oyl. I will dispatch Marshall and Scott as soon as I can.

Whenever I may be usefull I beg you improve me. You may rely on my best Services. My Sincere wishes attend you, & believe me with great Truth,

Your real & Faithful Friend & Servant.

The above, like others, seems to be a continuous letter, sent in instalments. In it we find that Mr. Hancock has been obliged to draw on his deposit with Harrison Gray, the Province treasurer.

While John Hancock was struggling to keep peace with his agents in England, and safely conduct his extensive business through the precarious times, the one subject of discussion in the town was the arbitrary, unconstitutional innovations of Parliament.

The town at length adopted a letter of instructions to their representatives in General Court, in which they spoke of the distress of the trade of the Province, etc.

On June 7 Mr. Hancock writes again to Barnards & Harrison, tells them of the loss of the lemons, poor sale of oil and bottles, and of a more fortunate disposal of the coals. He concludes thus :

I should be glad you would give me some advice respecting the Character of Parson Griffith in whose favor You drew a Bill on me. He came over with Scott, he has conducted badly, been detected in stealing, so that I hear he is in Gaol. I shall soon write you again being now much hurried, can't add but that I am,

Your very hble Servt.

On the 27th inst. Mr. Hancock writes to London agents, saying :—

I am amazed you could send me a Trunk of such silks & charge to my account without my order. I opened them, and they are such colours as would not Sell here to the end of time. I can't think you chose them, or ever saw them they are such kinds of silks as we never dealt in, and under the present situation of things dont intend to be concerned in, besides their cost with the additional duty on each piece here is more than they would fetch. They are very ill chosen, extreme bad colours, very high charged, and article



HARRISON GRAY, PROVINCE TREASURER.

(From Copley. Died 1794, Aged 84.)

Banished during the Revolution.

in no demand here. I have therefore come to a resolution to return them to you by Marshall.

The ship Adventure, Capt. Edwards will depart for So. Carolina in two days.

The ship Boston Packett, Capt. Marshall will, I hope, depart for London in eight days.

The brig Lydia will soon follow Marshall. Her oyl is engaged.

## CHAPTER IX

RIVALRY BETWEEN HANCOCK AND ROTCH. JOHN HANCOCK AS A FINANCIAL ADVISER. TRADE WITH MADRID. COMPASSION FOR THE AGED. JOHN HANCOCK'S SHIP LIBERTY AND HER FIRST COMMUNICATION TO LONDON. STAMP ACT A CRUEL HARDSHIP. STAMPS ARRIVE. SEVERE TREATMENT OF OLIVER AND HUTCHINSON. NEW BRIG HARRISON. JOHN HANCOCK WILL NOT BE A SLAVE. HANCOCK MAKES A RECORD FOR POSTERITY.

THE rivalry between Hancock and Rotch comes to light in a letter of July 6, 1765, in which Mr. Hancock writes to his London agents :—

GENT<sup>N</sup>: The foregoing confirm Copy of my last since which I have none of your favours this I hope you will receive by the Ship Boston Packett John Marshall Commr. who has been detain'd here Contrary to my Expectations, but I have done the utmost I possibly could and considering the Situation of things have succeeded tolerably well for the whole of Mr. Rotch's Vessells say Deverson & Calef are detained for want of oyl & they with a Vessel of E. Quincys 3d were up for London before Marshall arriv'd here. . . .

I must beg you will Excuse me at this Juncture that I have drawn on you as at first it is what I did not intend, but really Gent. I could no way avoid it and desire you will please to honour all my Bills, out of all my debts & many dependencies to a large amount I can collect no money & am reduc'd to this method of drawing to raise Cash unless I should take money out of the Treasury which would be hard Fate I doubt not but you will readily answer them. I shall get Scott away as soon as possible, when I shall remit you some Bills if not disappointed, however I am always ready to make Satisfaction for any advances, it is an advantage to each of us in the End, as the keeping a Stock of Cash ready Commands a prefer-

ence as to purchases, and this I cannot always Effect without occasionally drawing, & almost the whole of those bills rest with you.

The custom of using the Province treasury as a bank of deposit comes out more clearly in a letter of July 6, 1765:—

I am now to acknowledge the receipt of yours of 14 Nov. & 12 Jany. and agreeable to your desire now inclose you the State of the Treasurer's note you left in the care of my late Uncle. I also inclose your account as it stands on his Books, by which you will see you have Credit for the Cash received of Mr. Wallace, and as my late Uncle wrote you he could not get it into the Treasury, it has lain ever since for your order. You will observe that the whole of the note becomes due next June. after which time I don't think it can be continued, as the Province is in no want of Cash, and they have offer of the loan of any sum at five pr cent. I should think it would be most for your Interest to order it home, as I could not advise you to put it into the hands of people here. I should judge it too precarious. This, I submit to you, and what ever Resolutions you may take respect'g it, you may depend on a punctual & cheerful compliance from me. The Prize in the New London Lottery, I fear will never be recover'd.

You will please to let me know your determination about your monies & your orders shall be Executed.

My best wishes attend you. I am with Tender of my best Services

Sir,

Your most obedt. hble Servt.

Treasurers Notes belonging to Capt. David Allen left by him in the Care of the late Thomas Hancock Esq. which are now in the hands of John Hancock & lay on acc't & Risq. of sd. Capt. Allen, viz—

One Note dated 16 <sup>th</sup>	Feby. 1763	paya 20 June 1766	£445
One do     "     20	June 1764	" 10     " 1766	140
One do     "     30	Mar 1763	" 20     " 1766	123
One do     "     6	July 1763	" 20     " 1766	134
			£842

Inst. on above notes Due from the Dates. Capt. David Allen of the Royal. Under Cover to Sr. Tho. Willson Dean Street, So Lo.

On July 21, 1765, Mr. Hancock writes to London agents thus :—

Do send me by Marshall six pounds best Hyson Tea in Canisters & 1 Doz. bottles best Lavender Water.

Again on the same date he writes :—

Since the foregoing agreeable to a former promise I have been obliged to draw on you of this date in favour of the Honble. Thomas Flucker Esq.<sup>1</sup> No. 11, for £250. stg. which you will please to honour and charge to my account.

I now inclose you Harrison Gray Esqr.<sup>2</sup> Bill on Jasper Mauduct Esq. of the date No. 38. in my favour for £1500 stg.

On the following day, in a letter to some agents, Mr. Hancock writes :—

McLoud returned here by way of West Indies. I am much obliged to you for pay'g his ransom the whole account of which I beg you will forward me immediately. If you will please to look over our late Co. Letters of 19<sup>th</sup> Decr 1763, you will find we there desired you to remitt s<sup>d</sup> McCloud at Brest, Five Pounds Sterling and to charge to our account. if I am not mistaken You wrote us you had ordered it him, but to my great Surprize when I asked the

<sup>1</sup> Hon. Thomas Flucker was secretary of the Province under Governor Hutchinson, and continued to serve under Governor Gage. He lived in Milk Street. His daughter Lucy became the wife of General Knox. Mrs. Knox shared with the General the privations of camp-life during the war, wherever duty called him. She was a lovely and highly accomplished woman, contributing greatly to the little female circle around American headquarters. — DRAKE.

<sup>2</sup> Harrison Gray was treasurer of the Province. He belonged to a family celebrated as rope-makers of Boston. He adhered to the king, went away with the Loyalists to Halifax, and later to London, where his house was the resort of refugees. The rhymester of the time did not omit him :—

“What Puritan could ever pray  
In Godlier tones than Treasurer Gray !  
Or at town meetings, speechifying,  
Could utter more melodious whine,  
And shut his eyes and vent his moan,  
Like owl afflicted in the sun !”

Young man before his Father, whether he had receiv'd it, he told me he had not, and that he never heard from you till Your Letter to him respecting his ransom. I then asked him why he took passage to West Indias & he told me he had not wherewith to carry him to London. You wrote me you had ordered him a supply for that purpose. he says he tarried at Penzance five weeks, wrote you three Letters but had no answer nor no Supply.

I was greatly surprized at it, & it really reflected great Carelessness upon me. I as fully depended you had sent the £5. as also the supplies, at Penzance as that the ransom was paid. I am heartily sorry for it, & should be glad to know the truth of it. I had rather lost more money out of my pocket than it should have so happened as I undertook it out of Compassion to the old people & to serve them but suppose it could not be helped.

I am in haste,

Gent Your Real Friend.

The following letter introduces the reader to a firm at Madeira that becomes of interest as the correspondence advances :—

BOSTON, July 23, 1765.

GENT<sup>N</sup>: The long Correspondence that Subsisted between your house and my late Uncle (of whose sudden death you have undoubtedly per this time heard), induces me to apply to you for my supply of wine from your place not doubting but you will use the same judgment in your choice of it as for my late uncle who had a high opinion of your Fidelity.

I am now, therefore, to desire you will please to send me by the return of this Vessell on the first good opportunity to this place two pipes of the very best Madeira for my own Table. I don't stand at any price, let it be good, I like a rich wine. I need say no more to you but that they are for my own use for their cost you will please to draw Bills on Mess. Barnards & Harrison, Merchts, in London at Thirty days' Sight, which will be duly honour'd mark them H. & I should be glad you would put some private mark on the pipes acquainting me of the same in your Letter as there is danger of their being chang'd among a Cargo. I wish you health and happiness and am

Gent:

Your most obed't hble Serv't.

MESS. LAMAR, HILL & BISSETT, at Madeira.

In a letter of Aug. 16, 1765, is seen the record of naming the vessel which stands out so prominently in the history of the opening Revolution :—

I wrote you sometime ago that I had been obliged in the course of my business to take a new ship and that I proposed her for South Carolina. I have since determined to load her for London, and she is now loading fast. She is called the Liberty, Henry Smith, Master, and hope will sail in 20 days to your address. Just as Scott was fitted up, the oyl got in from the River and I thought it best to ship some early by which means am in hopes to obtain a tolerable price therefor. You shall be interested one-half if you please, this ship shall propose to you to be sold and if she will fetch a good price, if not to proceed to New Castle of which more by her. Whalebone is at 3 / £ m<sup>o</sup> at present. I am no purchaser.

As I am loading Smith, oyl ready Money. I have drawn a few Bills on You as at bottom which you will please to honour.

In a letter of Aug. 22, 1765, to his London agents, the undercurrent of Mr. Hancock's feelings bursts forth in the following manner :—

I refer you to the Newspapers for an account of the proceed'gs here by which you will see the General dissatisfaction here on account of the Stamp Act, which I pray may never be carried into Execution, it is a Cruel hardship upon us & unless we are Redressd we must be Ruin'd, our Stamp officer has resigned. I hope the same Spirit will prevail throughout the whole Continent. do Exert yourselves for us and promote our Interest with the Body of Merchants the fatal Effects of these Grievances you will very Sensibly feel; our Trade must decay & indeed already is very indifferent. I cant therefore but hope that we shall be considered, & that some will rise up to exert themselves for us we are worth saving but unless speedily reliev'd we shall be past remedy. Do think of us.

It is an interesting fact that on the first voyage of the ship Liberty such a message should be taken to London.

In case you should send the Liberty to Lisbon or New Castle, I beg you would not fail to keep her insur'd as & from the several ports to this place, at least £1500 Stg. on the Ship. this do note.

I have been so Excessively Busy since Scott sailed that I must once more & for the last time on this account, ask your pardon that I am not now more Explicit. I shall now sit myself down as fast as I can to Compleat our accounts, & forward by Jacobson who will sail in 14 days, you must Excuse me till then.

The following articles please to send & mark H. S.

3lbs. deepest Prussian blue.  
8lbs. best U. D. Vermillion.  
50lbs. white Copperas.  
20lbs. umber.  
1000lbs. softest Spanish white.  
2Gro. siz'd Pencils.

I am with unfeigncd regard

Gent.

Your most faithfull & oblig'd  
hble servt.

The state of excitement in Boston is indicated in a letter from Mr. Hancock as follows :—

BOSTON, Sept. 11, 1765.

GENT: I have only Time to tell you this, I have drawn on you two Bills viz.

Ann Colvill,	No. 22,	£ 65
Roger Hale, Esq.	" 23,	<u>100</u>

which you will please to honour.

I cannot write now, we are terribly confus'd here. if the Stamp Act takes place we are a gone people. do help us all you can. if the ship stays will write you further, have just receiv'd yours by Daverson, with inclosures, not time to examine.

I am in great haste,

Gent.

Your hble servant.

BARNARDS & HARRISON.

News was received in Boston in July that a quantity of stamped paper had been shipped for America, and early in August a list was published of those who had been appointed to distribute stamps in the colonies.

The name of Andrew Oliver for Massachusetts was among them.

As the arrival of the famous stamps was an event of great moment in the Province, so the letter which records the fact cannot fail of enlisting the attention of readers:—

BOSTON, Sept. 30, 1765.

GENT<sup>N</sup>: Since my last I have receiv'd your favour by Capt. Hulme who is arriv'd here with the most disagreeable Commodity (say Stamps) that were ever imported into this Country & what if carry'd into Execution will entirely Stagnate Trade here, for it is universally determined here never to submit to it and the principal merch<sup>ts</sup> here will by no means carry on Business under a Stamp, we are in the utmost Confusion here and shall be more so after the first of November & nothing but the repeal of the act will righten, the Consequence of its taking place here will be bad, & attended with many troubles, & I believe may say more fatal to you than us. for God's Sake use your Interest to relieve us. I dread the Event.

I have now a call to sett out immediately to the Southward where I shall be some time gone on my return will do the needfull.

I have now only time to inclose you B Gerrish's Bill on Channy Townsend in my favour for £339. 14. 5 stlg. when paid Credit my amount therefor I have not yet had time to Examine the acct. inclos'd. My best wishes attend you & I am in hast.

Your Real Friend.

MESS. BARNARDS & HARRISON.

With this spirit, which is breathed forth in every letter penned to his agents abroad, we find this young man in the town-meeting of Sept. 12, when there is considered in Faneuil Hall the article, "To confer upon such measures as shall appear necessary to be taken in consequence of the Stamp Act and other matters of



FACSIMILE OF STAMP.

Grievance, and to determine whether Instructions shall be given to the Representatives of the Town in General Assembly for their Conduct at this very alarming Crisis." It was voted that instructions be given, and John Hancock, as a selectman, was one of the committee for that purpose; this work was faithfully done, and our young friend was full of the spirit of the lengthy document. They also chose a committee to draw up and transmit a vote of thanks to those members of Parliament who had labored in opposition to the Stamp Act.

At a town-meeting on the 27th inst., to choose a representative to the General Court, in place of Oxenbridge Thatcher, a prominent lawyer, deceased, John Hancock received several votes; but his friend Samuel Adams was elected. It was at this court, in session in June, that steps were taken which resulted in the Continental Congress. There was great unrest throughout this and the other Provinces. On the 14th of August there had been a decided outbreak in Boston. The stamp-officer, Oliver, was hanged in effigy. A company of patriots assembled, burned the effigy, and destroyed a building in Kilby Street, supposed to be intended for a stamp-office. They then proceeded to vent their ill-directed patriotism by destroying the property of Hon. Andrew Oliver. This was followed on another occasion by attacking the house of Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson, who was also chief justice. In the mean time, the governor, Francis Bernard, and the council, on Aug. 14, offered a reward for the conviction of the offenders. The town, in open meeting, put itself on record as entirely against any such demonstrations. John Hancock was aware, officially and otherwise, of all this trouble; and he retired to the seclusion of his office,

and wrote to his agents, Barnards & Harrison. The letter was dated Oct. 14, 1765, and, after dwelling at some length upon their running accounts, continued by saying :—

## REPRODUCTION OF LATTER PART OF THIS LETTER.

a Thousand Guineas, nay a much larger sum, would be no temptation to me to be the first that should apply for a Stamp, for such is the aversion of the people to the Stamps, that it should be sure to lose my property, if not my life, that Trade must of course stagnate, binded, all kind of Commerce and Navigation, on not cease, unless some expedient be thought on w<sup>th</sup> you can take place so as to remove the difficulty. Thus much I thought to mention to you, to let you see some of the inconveniences of this act, & they are what will greatly affect Great Britain in the end, and Trade once lost is not easily retrieved, you will not mention my name particularly in those matters, & write thus much, & pray you will use your influence for us to extricate us out of our present state.— I should now have sent my demand for a spring supply of goods to come in the Brig<sup>t</sup> Garrison, but upon mature Deliberation I am Resolv'd at least for the present, not to send another Gov<sup>r</sup> to London, or carry on any Business in that way, as under this additional Burthen of the Stamp Act I cannot carry it on to any profit and we were before bounded in our Trade & sufficiently burthened, that any farther Taxes must Ruin us.

I shall shortly expect Marshall here, & could wish he might arrive before the 1<sup>st</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> when you clear him out, but otherwise he must stay till it will tell you my proportion of Ship & Brig<sup>t</sup> to have if you can get any one may conduct them, for I will not be made a slave of without my own Consent.

I suppose I shall not be able to get a Letter to you, as we  
shall have no Vessel sail for London after that time.

I am in great Haste, with Respect  
Your Sincere Friend but an  
Enemy to the Stamps.

P.S.

This Letter I propose to remain in my  
Letter Book as a Standing monument to posterity  
To my Children in particular, that by no means  
Convented to a Submission to this Cruel Act, & that  
my best Representations were not want'g in the matter.

The new Brig't I set up in thirds with you Barker & Burnell & myself, which I have called the Harrison, I have at length Dispatch'd. She sail'd for Nantucket 11th Inst compleatly fitted for the sea, and as pretty a Vessell & as well Executed as I ever saw a Vessell & I think tolerable Dispatch. I have Recommended to Barker & Burnell to give her the greatest Dispatch in Load'g & as soon as I hear from them Respecting the Cost of the Cargo I shall write you for Insurance.

This Vessell I suppose you will Load back to me in the Spring if possible, wch tho' I question & this Leads me to the most material Subject I have Touch'd upon to you, I need not Tell you I mean the Stamp act, The Ruin of this people must be the Consequence of this act's Taking place. Our Trade here will entirely Stagnate, for it is the united Resolution & Determination of the people here not to Carry on Business under a Stamp, we shall be in the utmost Confusion, here after the 1st Novr & nothing but the Repeal of the act can retrieve our Trade again, Persons who have Vessells here may now Clear them out before the 1st Novr but those that may arrive after, must lay up till the Resolutions of Parliam't be known, if not Repeal'd you may bid Adieu to Remittances for the past Goods, and Trade in future, your Debts cannot be Recover'd here for we shall have no Courts of Justice after the 1st Novr & I now Tell you, & you will find it come to pass that the people of this Country will never Suffer themselves to be made slaves of by a Submission to that D——d act But I shall now open to you my own Determinations.

If Marshal & Scott or either of them (wch is not very probable), should arrive here before the 1st of Novr I can clear them out Loaded or not Loaded, & wch I will do, but if they arrive here after that date, I shall unload them, & Haul them up so we shall have no Stamp masr. nor Stamps Suffer'd to be Distributed wch I pray God may ever be the case my & every Vessell is liable to be Seiz'd, besides it is my invariable opinion that this Act is unconstitutional & cruel the Expense of which we are not able to Support; that I have come to a Serious Resolution not to send one Ship more to Sea nor to have any kind of Connection in Business under a Stamp; that you must not have even the Least Expectation of seeing Marshall or Scott Return to you this Fall. I have oyle now by me, & the Cash p'd for it sufficient to Load Marshall but I will sooner close the whole than Submit to Take a Stamp — nay, I would sooner subject myself to the hardest Labour for a maintenance, than carry on the Business I now do under so great a Burthen, & I am Determin'd as soon as I know that they are Resolv'd to insist on this act to Sell my Stock in Trade & Shut up my Warehouse Doors Thus much I told our Govr the other day, & is what I am absolutely Determin'd to abide by, without some very extraordly intervention, indeed, wch is not likely — I am very sorry for this occasion of writing so boldly, & of being obliged to come to such Resolutions, but the Safety of myself & the Country I have the honor to be a Native of require some Resolutions, I am free & Determin'd to be so I will not willingly & quietly Subject myself to Slavery.

We are a people worth a saveing & our trade so much to your advantage worth keeping that it merits the notice of those on yr side who have the Conduct of it but to find nothing urg'd by the merchts on your side in our favour Really is extraordinary, what I have mentioned seems at present to be the opinion of all here, & indeed must unavoidably be the Case if they don't submit to this Cruel act, wch I now tell you the whole Continent is so Rous'd that they will never suffer any one to Distribute the Stamps — a Thousand Guineas, nay a much Larger sum, would be no Temptation to me to be the first that should apply for a Stamp, for such is the aversion of the people to the Stamps, that I should be sure to Lose my property if not my Life, that Trade must of Course Stagnate, & indeed all kinds of Business and Navigation must cease, unless some Expedient be thought on wch I Can't See can Take place so as to Remove the Difficulty, Thus much I thought to mention to you to let you see some of the ill Consequences of this act, and they are What will

greatly affect Great Britian in the End, and Trade once lost is not easily Retriev'd, you will not mention my name particularly in those matters, I write thus much & pray you will use your Influence for us to Extricate us out of our present State—I should now have Sent my Demand for a Spring Supply of Goods to Come in the Brigt Harrison, but upon mature Deliberation I am Resolv'd at least for the present, not to send another Invo to London, or Carry on any Business in that way, as under this additional Burthen of the Stamp Act I cannot carry it on to any profit and we were before Cramp'd in our Trade & sufficiently Burthen'd, that any farther Taxes must Ruin us. . . .

I shall shortly Expect Marshall here, I could wish he might arrive before the 1st Nov<sup>r</sup> when I can clear him out, but otherwise he must lay by, I will Sell you my proportion of Ship & Brigt & others if you can get any one may Conduct them, for I will not be made a slave of without my own Consent.

I shall soon write you again & it must be soon, with what papers I can get Ready for after the 1st Nov<sup>r</sup> I suppose I shall not be able to get a Letter to you, as we shall have no Vessell Sail for London after that Time.

I am in great Haste, with Respect

Your Sincere Friend but an enemy to the Stamps.

PS

This Letter I propose to remain in my Letter Book as a Standing monument to posterity & my children in particular, that I by no means consented to a Submission to this Cruel Act, & that my best Representations were not wantg. in the matter.

Mr. Drake, in "History of Boston," says of John Hancock, "He was early secured to the patriot side; and, once having taken that elevated and enviable stand, he ever maintained it without wavering."

The tone of the foregoing letters would lead to the conclusion that John Hancock was never wavering in his convictions of duty, regardless of his great wealth which was at stake.

## CHAPTER X

PEOPLE REFUSE TO USE STAMPS. LARGE TAX PAID BY THE HANCOCK FIRM. EVIL FOREBODINGS OF NOVEMBER FIRST. SLAVES IN THE COLONIES. BOSTON INSTRUCTS REPRESENTATIVES IN GENERAL COURT. JOHN HANCOCK APPEALS TO HEAVEN. SENDS TO LONDON FOR BOOKS — A GIFT FOR HARVARD COLLEGE. JOHN HANCOCK IN DESPONDENCY. SHIPS GOODS WITHOUT STAMPS. GOODS ORDERED ON CONDITION OF THE REPEAL OF THE STAMP ACT. NO TELEPHONE. RIDES TO LEXINGTON.

THE stamps came; but as there was no one having commission to receive them, they were landed, by order of the Governor, at the Castle. The General Court took no action for distributing the stamps, and it was generally understood that the Act should be defeated by refusing to use stamped paper, etc. Merchants and traders agreed to recall all unconditional English orders except for sea-coal, and a few other bulky articles, and to order none only on condition of the repeal of the Stamp Act.

We must suppose that John Hancock was in this movement. Let us see what he writes on Oct. 21 to his agents, Barnards & Harrison :—

I hope Scott & Smith are safe with you. I know not what you will do with them. I refer them to you and hope you will be able to find some Employ for them or they must be sold. I have wrote you my mind fully respecting our Situation and what will be the consequence of the Stamp Acts taking place, in short, Gentlemen, we are now groaning under Load of Debts the consequence of our

great exertions in the Late warr, a Debt I know not when we shall discharge, and to comfort us we must have the heavy Burthen of a Stamp Act to grapple with; we are amazingly tax'd here. I believe I may Venture to say that not a man in England in proportion to estate pays the Tax that I do. What would a Merchant in London think of paying £400 Stlg ann. which my late uncle paid to this Province & county; his Taxes from the year 1757 to 1763 amotd. to £2600 Stg., and I now pay yearly to this Province & county near £300 Sterlg., besides all duties, Imposts, Ministers & many other which are additional Taxes, and pray do you think we ought to be further Taxed or that we are able to Support the Grievous Burthen of the Stamp Act. No, Gentlemen, there is not cash enough here to support it, and pray where are we when our Cash is gone or indeed where will you obtain your remittances, certainly if our Interest will not arouse the people on your Side, your own I trust will, and once stop our Trade, you must fail of your remittances.

Next week the first of November comes, the consequences of which will be an entire stagnation of trade. Navigation must cease, and I hope eternally will, rather than submit to so cruel, Grievous and inhuman act. I speak for myself. I never will carry on Business under such great disadvantages & Burthen. I will not be a slave. I have a Right to the Liberties & Privileges of the English Constitution, & I as an Englishman will enjoy them. We shall be in a most shocking situation after the 1st of November, & our state entire confusion, and nothing will reinstate us but the repeal of this act.

You cannot expect any orders for the goods in the spring, at least not many; for my part I shudder for the consequences. I cannot, however, but have some hopes that the Parliament will relieve us & give us a free trade which will enable us to pay our Debts to Great Britian, where in short all our money centres. But without Trade we nor no Community can submit. Do exert yourselves for us. It is your own Interest as much as ours. I hope Marshall will arrive before the 1st of November, otherwise he cannot return to you. I have the Oyl by me. I will sooner suffer the loss of it than be a slave.

I shall write you fully by the going ship. Coffin in the schooner is not arriv'd, by him Expect to hear from you.

I am in much haste, can't now add but that I am w<sup>th</sup> perfect Esteem  
Gent. Your faithful hble Servt.

BARNARDS & HARRISON.



HOME OF REV. JOHN HANCOCK AT LEXINGTON.



The term "*slave*," so freely used by Mr. Hancock, was a common expression of the time. In the town's instructions to their Representatives in General Court, we read, "If taxes are laid upon us in any shape, without our having a legal representation where they are made, are we not reduced from the character of free subjects to the miserable state of tributary slaves?"

Negro slavery was a custom which prevailed at this time very generally among the more wealthy families of the colony, especially in Boston. Several attempts were made to put a stop to it, but to no avail. A Tory writer of the time said there were two thousand slaves in Boston.

The condition of these negro menials may have occasioned the expression to which reference is made.

In the instructions to their Representatives the town further proposed that, "As the Province still lies under a very grievous burthen of debt, occasioned by the war with France, frugality should be strongly recommended as one means of lessening the public debt, and that the necessity of continuing garrisons on the eastern frontier should be inquired into."

As we have seen, Mr. Hancock was furnishing the supplies for these garrisons, but personal benefit was set aside for the promotion of the public good.

On Oct. 28, 1765, Mr. Hancock writes to his London agents, saying:—

I could wish Marshall might be here before the 1<sup>st</sup> Novr. tho' I a little doubt it, If he should be so lucky I believe I could succeed in Clearing him out before he was Loaded. I have a sufficiency of Oyle to Dispatch him, but I am Confident after the 1<sup>st</sup> Novr. there must be an Entire Stagnation of Navigation &c. which will throw us into amazing Confusion, & will Continue unless this cruel Act be Repeal'd w<sup>ch</sup> if not Effect<sup>d</sup>, we are a Ruined people, all our

Cash must go to answer the Expenses of the Act, w<sup>ch</sup> in two or three Years will fall of itself, as there will be no money left to Defray the Expenses of its further Continuance. But with Respect to myself, I will be the last man that will submit to Take one, I however hope things will not be carried to such an ill judg'd extremity as to Enforce the Act, as the fatal Consequences of it will be as much felt in the End. by Great Britain, as by us; you can never expect to Receive your Remittances from hence, & you may depend we shall be obliged to Live without your Manufactures w<sup>ch</sup> strictly speaking we can do without. You must exert yourselves for us & I hope soon to hear that the Parliament will Listen to our Decent Remonstrances, & not only Repeal this Act but Redress many other Grievances we Labour under w<sup>ch</sup> we are not able to support.

Pray send us good Tidings, we are & shall be a very Distressed people, but Beg we may be Reliev'd.

I am Gent<sup>n</sup>

Your Faithfull Friend.

MESSRS. BARNARDS & HARRISON.

It is a relief to the reader, as it must have been to John Hancock, to find another subject besides that of the Stamp Act occupying his mind. It appears in a letter dated Oct. 28, 1765, to Thomas Longman :—

It is some time since I heard from you with the Magazines &c. w<sup>ch</sup> Beg in future you will please to be Regular in sending. I cannot tell the state of my acc<sup>t</sup> with you. I desire you will please to call on Mess. Barnards & Harrison & Receive of them whatever Ballance may be due to you. Give them your Rect<sup>t</sup>, & send me your acc<sup>t</sup> Ballanced.

I now inclose you a large Inv<sup>o</sup> of Books, which I desire you will please to send me, pack'd in the best manner and marked L. H. I must Recommend to you to be very carefull in the collect of these Books, that they be the best Editions & well Bound, & that you be particular in sending every Book mentioned in the Inclosed Inv<sup>o</sup>, if to be had at any price. I must also further Recommend to you that each & every book be neatly Lettered & as there are several Pamphlets, wrote for in this Inv<sup>o</sup>, I desire instead of their Coming in pamphlets, w<sup>ch</sup> are apt to be soon Defaced by use, that you will be mindful to Bind as many together as will make a neat volume & let

them be all sent in that way. Lettering on the Back, that they may be known. Upon the whole, I Recommend to you that the whole of these Books be very neat, well chosen, & Charged at the Lowest prices, as the whole of these Books are a present from me to our College Library in Cambridge.

These Books, I shall hope you will be able to send me in the Spring. When ever they are ready to ship, I desire you will apply to Mess. Barnards & Harrison, who will give you Directions to Ship them, in a Vessel of mine. . . . These Books you will pack in Trunks & consign them to me. Send me Inv<sup>o</sup> of Cost, & write me the Terms of Credit & you may Rely I shall make you a punctual Remittance, therefore, if it does not suit you to put up these Books, you will please to Give this letter & Inv<sup>o</sup> to Barnards & Harrison who will send them to me.

I shall be glad of all opportunities to render you or your Friends any services here, & am with Compliments to you & Mrs. Longman,

Sir

Your most obed. Humble Servt.

You will acknowledge the Rec<sup>t</sup>. of this & pray use your Endeavours that the Books may be sent in the Spring.

By a vote of the President and Fellows of Harvard College, taken on July 15, 1767, Commencement Day, we find that this plan was carried out. John Hancock fulfilled a promise of his deceased uncle by giving books to the amount of £500 sterling, and also gave a large collection in his own name. The college also received the sum of £1000 sterling by the will of Thomas Hancock to endow a professorship of the Oriental languages. The Hancock collection, consisting of 1,098 volumes, is the outcome of the above-quoted letter.

In this country, where business firms are frequently changing, it is of interest to note the continuous existence of the Longman House in Paternoster Row, London. It was established by Thomas Longman in 1724, and consequently had been in existence about forty years when John Hancock ordered the books for Har-

vard College; and has continued until the present time, the firm name being at present Longmans, Green, & Co., their London address being the same as it was one hundred and seventy-two years ago — Paternoster Row.

The sign of the ship has been in continuous use as a trade-mark of the firm since it served as a sign under which the first Thomas Longman did business, and furnished books to the dealers in Provincial Boston. (Appendix I.)

The second letter to this firm is under date of Nov. 16, 1768. In this Mr. Hancock informs Thomas Longman that George Haley, his London agent, will settle his account with interest, "which is just, as the bill has been due for an unreasonably long time."

With the many cares of private and public nature engrossing John Hancock, he finds time to attend to business for Thomas Longman. It appears in the following letter :—

BOSTON, May 18<sup>th</sup>, 1770.

SIR: Your favours of Dec. 2<sup>d</sup> 1769, & Jany 3<sup>d</sup> 1770 are now before me, & duly note the Contents. In Consequence of the Rec<sup>t</sup>. of the former, as Mr. Mein was absent, I immediately attached everything I could find of his Effects for the benefit of you & Wright & Gill & the matter is now in the Law. The Effects are in the Hands of the Sheriff, and as soon as it has gone thro' the Law, & the Effects turn'd into money, the neat proceeds shall be remitted you, and you will determine the settlement between you and Messrs. Wright & Gill. Tho' I fear even the Whole of his Effects will fall vastly short of the Debts, but I have got all & could have no more.

You will please, as I am now greatly hurried, to present my respects to Mess Wright & Gill & acquaint them. I will render them every service in my power & will write them by next opportunity. Cannot You get further Security of Mr. Mein in London. You may rely I will do all in my power for your Interest in this or any other matter.

I am with Great Respect Sir,

MR. THOMAS LONGMAN.

Your most obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>.

Mr. John Mein, above mentioned, was an extensive bookseller of the time in Boston. His place was known as the London Bookstore, and he claimed to carry a stock of ten thousand volumes. He is credited with having established the first circulating-library in the town. Drake says his shop was on the north corner of what is now Franklin and Washington Streets, where, in addition to books, he sold Irish linens, etc. John Mein was connected with the publication of the *Boston Chronicle*, the first semi-weekly in New England. This was an organ of the Loyalists, soon became unpopular, and was suspended in 1770. Mein was not in sympathy with the patriots, and so conducted himself as to become very obnoxious. The rhymester of the time, aroused by the acts of this bookseller, wrote the following:—

Mean is the man, M——n is his name,  
Enough he's spread his hellish fame ;  
Infernal Furies hurl his soul  
Nine million times from Pole to Pole.

We may infer that John Hancock did not hesitate to act for his London friends in applying the law to this Tory. On Nov. 19, 1770, Mr. Hancock wrote to Thomas Longman thus:—

I received Your Letter, respecting Your action with Mr. John Mein, and am now to inform you that by a law of the Province, when an Action is brought against a man who is out of the Province, the Action must be continued in the inferior court six months. This was the reason why the action against Mr. Mein was continued at first & when the six months were expired, Mr. Kent, the lawyer, appeared for Mr. Mein at the request of Mr. Fleming<sup>1</sup> who had a power of attorney from Mein, & moved in Court that these actions might be continued three months longer, because he said Mr. Mein had since been arrested in London for the same debt & was a pris-

<sup>1</sup> John Flemming, connected with John Mein in publishing.—DRAKE.

oner in the King's Bench for them. . . . Mr. Mein had no real estate here, my attachments were on the Shop, Books & the materials in the printing office which are small. What the amount of these attachments will be it is impossible to determine, until they are sold, which can not be until the Law has had its course. Books are very dull sale here.

On Dec. 3, 1770, Mr. Hancock sends to Mr. Thomas Longman for more books for himself, and in April, 1771, writes the following :—

SIR: Your favr by Capt. Scott, I duly Rec'd with the Box of Books in good order, as also my acc'tt, which I shall soon order you payment of. I note what you say Respecting Mr. Mein. His conduct towards you is insufferable, & I am inform'd, he with his associates have taken great Liberties with me, but I Despise them, being confident that their case and false representations can do me no Injury. I wish I could see a copy of Mein's affidavit and hope you will be able to obtain it. I think you have acted very right towards Mein. You have an undoubted claim to Security & you will find on the settlement of the matter here, it will fall vastly short of their Expectation & manifest their suggestion to be utterly groundless.

Nothing has occurred in Mein's affairs since my last to you on that subject. I am in hopes soon to Receive your answer thereto with the necessary Inclosures, as soon as I am possess'd of them you may Rely I will prosecute the affair to the end.

I am with Tender's of Service & Respects, to you & Mrs. Longman,

Sir

Your very humble Servt.

MR. THOMAS LONGMAN.

Mr. Hancock reports progress from time to time, and on Jan. 31, 1772, writes :—

I am now to Acquaint you that I have Recover'd final Judgment in your & Mess. Wright & Gill case, against Mein & Execution is levied upon the Books &c. & the Appraisers will finish the appraisement this Day, after which I will take the most prudent steps to convert the whole into money & as soon as Realized shall be remitted to you. I am confident the whole of Mr. Mein's Effects will fall vastly short of your Demands & this I mentioned to you

long ago & Evinces the propriety of your Conduct in arresting him in England. The Gent<sup>l</sup> appraisers are Mr. Edwards, Mr. Knox, & Mr. Langdon, all whom I believe you know, have been very faithfull. I shall advise you as I go on & send you the Catalogue of the Books & everything relative to this matter.

The Hancock letters to Longman furnish us with evidence of more ways in which the political state of affairs had its demoralizing effect. Mein, as a poor debtor, perhaps made so by his stand on public matters, fled to London, where he vented his wrath against Hancock and the leading patriots.

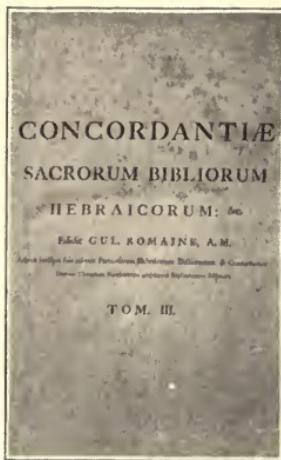
He was but one among the many sufferers who left the country, although with less means of support than many of the Loyalists possessed.

The Hancock books are found in the different departments of the college library at Cambridge. In those which constitute the last gift may be read —

THE GIFT OF THE  
HON. JOHN HANCOCK  
OF BOSTON,  
RECORDED JAN. 31, 1774.



BOOK PLATE.



BOOK TITLE.

On Nov. 4, 1765, Mr. Hancock writes to Devonshire & Reeves :—

GENT<sup>N</sup>: I wrote you some time ago for a few articles wch no doubt you will send. Those Articles I fear, will be the last I shall import as our Grievances are so heavy & I may say cruel, that Trade here must Stagnate. I flatter myself, considering the Amazing Taxes we pay here for the support of Governmt, that the Parliam<sup>t</sup> of Great Britian would have been rather induced to have relieved us, than to have added to our Burthens. I think I may Venture to say that not a man in England, in proportion to estate pays so great a Tax as I do & people in general here pay heavier Taxes in proportion than the people of England. We can very ill support so cruel an act as the Stamp Act. in short there is not a sufficiency of money among us to support it three years, & what will become of us when our Trade and money is gone? It is such an act as I hope in God will never be executed here; for my own part, upon Serious and mature consideration, I am invariably Determined not to carry on business under a stamp, nor ever subject myself to be a slave without my own Consent. It seems to be the United Resolutions of the whole Continent not to submit to this cruel Act. The consequence of its taking place must be the Ruin of us. & I think we are a people worth saving & our Trade so advantageous to those who Conduct it on your side worth keeping, I however hope the Parliament from the Remonstrances they may Receive will Relieve us & I hope soon to hear a Repeal of the act. if not we are a gone people. Our Trade must cease & Great Britian will finally feel the Bad effects. We shall not be able to take of your Manufactures & we can do without them for my part under such Burthens, I will never Import a single manufacture of Great Britain nor carry on my Business under a Stamp to enrich I know not who. I beg you with the other merchts would use your Influence to extricate us & I doubt not on such Representation we shall be Relieved. . . . If at any time I may render you or your friends any service here, I beg you freely to Command me.

I am with sincere esteem

Gent<sup>N</sup>. Your faithful & obed. servt.

The foregoing letter was written while there was fresh in the mind of John Hancock the great demonstration of Nov. 1, when more effigies were hanged, and when bells were tolled, while vessels in the harbor displayed their colors at half-mast. Hancock, with other merchants who

were getting vessels ready for sea, took out their papers before Nov. 1, regardless of the date of use, thereby avoiding stamped clearances. On Nov. 8, Governor Bernard prorogued the General Court to Jan. 15. But a bill for the relief of the people was in the hands of a committee when the court rose. The following explains how a vessel went to sea from Hancock wharf:—

BOSTON, Dec. 21, 1765.

GENTS: This I hope you will receive by the ship Boston Packet, John Marshall, commar., which is now fully loaded with oyl, & have cleared him out at the Custom house, the officers certifying that no Stamps are to be had, which is actually the case, & you may rely the people on the Continent will never consent to the Grievous imposition of the Stamp Act. Our Custom house is now open as usual & clearance taken without stamps. That I apprehend there will be no risque on your side, here. I am under no apprehensions. Should there be any Difficulty in London as to Marshalls clearance, You will please to represent the circumstances that no stamps could be obtained and we cannot obtain a more Regular Clearance. In which case I think I am to be justified, & am not liable to a seizure, or even run any risque at all, as I have taken the Step of the Law, & made application for clearance, & can get no other. I refer the matter to you. if any Difficulty You will please to make proper Representations, & I have no doubt we shall be justified. The Custom houses to the Southward are open & vessells clear as usual, the officers certifying that no stamps are to be had. I was a little disappointed that you make no mention however matters were taken on your side, & what was yours & the general opinion as to the Stamp Act, whether it would be repeal'd. pray exert yourself for us, & give us the good tidings, should the repeal of the act take place. It will afford more joy to America than any Circumstance that has or can happen. God grant us the desir'd event, or we are a gone people. . . .

I heartily wish you all happiness, & for the good of the whole I as heartily wish to hear the Repeal of the Stamp act.

I am For Self, Folger & Starbuck

Gent. Your faithful Friend & obed.

Servant.

The above letter was written soon after the public demonstration of Dec. 17, when Andrew Oliver was made to appear under the Liberty-tree, at the corner of Essex and Washington Streets, and take his oath that "he had never taken any measures to act in the office of stamp-master, and that he would never do so, directly or indirectly." In the company of officials who witnessed the act was John Hancock.

This episode at the Liberty-tree was but one of many experiences that occurred to hinder the young merchant in preparing letters before the sailing of the Boston Packet. A warrant had just been posted at the Town House, calling a town-meeting; and the selectmen dropped in after business hours to the Hancock counting-house to discuss the all-absorbing topic, embodied in an article of the warrant. It was late in the afternoon of that December day; and as they drew around the open fire, who should enter but Samuel Adams. The company drew back; and the circle was enlarged to admit another chair, placed by the servant, to which the newcomer was conducted. It needed but the light of the candle to reveal to all that the last caller had serious purposes in mind, for his lips were never more firmly set than at this moment. The young merchant did not fail to extend a cordial greeting to Mr. Adams, although he had been the successful candidate over him in the recent election of representatives to the General Court. The excitement of the hour was not so great as to cause the merchants to forget the ordinary courtesies of society; and they all took a pinch from Hancock's gold souvenir box, and snuffed to the contempt of George III.

"If we pass that memorial to-morrow," said Mr.

Adams, "we must choose a committee of our best legal men to present and enforce it. It is useless to petition the Governor and Council unless we have some emphasis behind it."

This met with a ready approval on the part of each of the selectmen and other gentlemen present. The memorial, roughly drawn, was already in the side pocket of Mr. Adams's snuff-brown seedy waistcoat. It was freely discussed before the company left the merchant to conclude his half-written letters.

No private business deterred Mr. Hancock from a prompt appearance at Faneuil Hall the next morning. The memorial was passed after a hot discussion on the floor of that famous building. It set forth that the Courts of Law had been shut up, for which "no just and legal reason could be assigned." The petitioners "humbly" requested "that his Excellency in Council, with whom the executive power was constitutionally lodged, would give direction to the several courts and their officers, so that under no pretence whatever they might any longer be deprived of that invaluable blessing." They also requested to be heard "by their council, learned in the Law." As might have been expected, Samuel Adams was placed at the head of the committee to prepare the memorial. Others were John Rowe, Thomas Cushing, John Hancock, John Ruddock, Samuel Sewall, Joshua Henshaw, and Benjamin Kent. The proposition of Samuel Adams to have counsel was readily adopted; and Jeremiah Gridley and James Otis, with John Adams, constituted the legal force. There were not wanting those who, with a spirit of satisfaction, shook their heads and said, "You brought these things on yourselves, and now you complain of them." During

the two days of adjournment, John Hancock applied himself to his letters.

To London :—

I am now to acquaint you that I am one-half owner of the Brig Industry, with Paul Bunker, gone to your address, Hezekiah Bunker master, and you will please to credit my account with you for one-half the freight she may make, as also credit my account for one-half the produce of Tar, Pitch, Oyl, and Staves, &c, shipped by Paul Bunker on board sd. brig. Since the foregoing was wrote, I have the pleasure to acquaint you that the brig Lydia, Captain Scott, arrived here the 15th instant, the only vessel from London since Marshall. No account of Bruce, Davis, Jenkins, Daverson nor Jarvis, who sailed before Scott. Our brig Lydia is certainly a fine sailing vessel & very Lucky. By the Lydia I am favored with yours of 23d of October, inclosing Bill of Lading & Invoice for my goods on board him. I am extremely sorry you did not ship my Lemons on Marshall, as I should then have got 60 stg. & Box whereas, now you have sent them in Scott, they will not fetch me 2 per cent. I wish you would be so good as always to ship me the whole of my orders as I have always a reason for my conduct and order which is only known to myself.

I note that my Ship Liberty was safe arrived with you, & am glad her cargo was like to meet so good a sale. I wish you may be able to get a freight for the Liberty to some port or other, & I should be glad for this place, tho' I see no great prospect. I wish I had ordered Fifty Tons of Hemp in her but I doubt not you will do your utmost for my Interest.

I have heretofore wrote you so largely & expressed my Sentiments so freely on the Subject of the Stamp Act that I think I need not add more to convince you that it is highly disagreeable to the whole continent, nay further that they will never submit to it. You can well judge from the account you have long e'er this Receiv'd from America how we are circumstanced and should have been glad of your opinion on the Subject. Pray write me by all ways & opportunities how things are like to turn.

These letters give us a glimpse into the cares of John Hancock, and we see somewhat of the extent of his foreign trade, which, with his domestic business, must

have been very extensive; and no stenographer sat at his left hand to catch his dictations between calls, but very many of his letters must have been penned with his own hand, although an assistant may have mended the pens.

Leaving his letters still open, John Hancock makes haste to Faneuil Hall to attend the adjourned meeting, when the report of the legal committee is presented and voted unsatisfactory, and the meeting adjourned to Dec. 26. The merchant had time to complete his letters. With the heat of the town-meeting discussion upon him, and the gibes of those who opposed the action of the town to goad him, he takes his pen and writes :—

I can only further say that I pray your best influence for us. Nothing will quiet and re-instate us but the entire repeal of this cruel Stamp Act, and pray God grant us that relief.

Later he writes :—

You have my Invoice for my Spring supply of goods under the following limitations, which I insist that you strictly comply with, viz.—In case there is a repeal of the Stamp Act, you will please to send me by Marshall the several articles in the inclosed Invoice. Let them be well chosen, well packed, & charged at the lowest prices, & send every article, if the Stamp Act be repealed, but in case the Stamp Act is not repealed, my orders are that you will not upon any consideration ship me one article. I have wrote for this in consideration of the United Resolves of not only the Principal Merchants & Traders of this Town but of those of the other trading towns of this Province, & which I am determined to abide by. I will not import one single manufacture of Great Britain unless this grievous Burthen be removed, and I have further to pray the favor that if this act be not repealed, you make out and send me all my account & what ever Balance may be due to you I will endeavor to remit as soon as possible, as under the Burthen of the Stamp Act

I cannot carry on my business to any advantage & I cannot be a Slave to enrich Placemen.<sup>1</sup>

It is not the telephone that has occasioned the apparent repetitions in the foregoing letter, but the calls of such men as Samuel Adams, who only make the writer more determined ; and he adds sentences for emphasis after each retires. Who that has compassion for a nervous, overworked merchant of these days, during the uncertainty of tariff legislation, can fail to sympathize with this young merchant, as in those early months of his entire dependence upon his own judgment, his uncle being dead, he faces the manifold cares of the Hancock business ?

In addition to all that we have thus far seen was the care of the real estate and the great home. There was solicitude for his honored aunt, so suddenly bereaved of her noble husband ; the negro slaves willed to her were quick to know that " Massa Hancock " was no more. The stock of cattle that grazed over the pasture on Beacon Hill needed the oversight of an interested eye, or they would rapidly depreciate in value. Who could have thought of envy as he watched the Hancock chariot roll out of town, conveying the honored widow and her overworked nephew to Lexington to get a little rest with Parson Clark and Mrs. Jonas Clark at the family hearthstone.

<sup>1</sup> Placemen, those who hold positions under the government. In this case the officers sent over from England to enforce revenue laws.

## CHAPTER XI

EVER READY TO AID WORTHY YOUNG MEN. HANCOCK NEGLECTS HIS OWN BUSINESS FOR THE GOOD OF HIS COUNTRY. A GENERAL BUSINESS AGENCY. LIST OF MERCHANTS ASSOCIATED WITH HANCOCK. ORDERS GOODS IN CASE THE STAMP ACT IS REPEALED. "HANCOCK AND HIS CREW." LOSS BY WRECK. COLONEL HENRY BROMFIELD. RICHARD CLARK. HANCOCK IN TOWN-MEETING. GARRISON SUPPLIES.

JOHN HANCOCK, in the midst of all his burdens, was ever ready to aid deserving young men who showed a talent for business. By the Briton he sends to Barnards & Harrison the following :—

By Captain Scott, as I have not time now, I shall send you an Invoice of Goods to be put up and sent by Marshall for the supply of a shop to a person I am going to put into that Branch, and of which more by Scott. I mean to be sent if the Stamp Act be repealed. This Invoice will be nearly like Mr. Jenkin's, that you may make some Provisions. The Bill I have drawn on you in favour of Clement Jackson was partly to engage his Correspondence & Concerns to you : he applied to me for advice with respect to the house & at home. I strongly recommend him to you. This Mr. Jackson's father is a man of Estate, tho' I can't say he makes himself liable. He writes you by this oppy. for a parcel of goods, much more than the amount of the Bill. You will act your pleasure as to sending them, but from what I can collect from Mr. Jackson, he is well disposed & believe will use his Endeavor to be punctual in his remittances. I think you may make trial of him without any great risque, but do as you judge best. He is young and in course of time may make an agreeable correspondent.

You cannot be sensible what a state of confusion this Stamp Act has brought on us.

John Hancock has the added annoyance of being frequently reminded by his agents abroad that he is behind in his accounts, and that remittances are overdue. In reply to one such he says :—

I have been for some time past engaged in public matters with respect to the Redress of our present Grievances. So that I am prevented fulfilling my promise of sending all accounts by this. They shall be sent by Scott and Bunker. Our Custom House is now open without the use of Stamps, & we are in hopes the Courts of Justice will be opened shortly and things go on the usual way. I hope there will be no difficulty with respect to the Marshall clearance. If the Stamp Act should be laid aside, You will send all my goods, & pray let them be of the best kind.

Inclosed you have Mary Baker's Certificate for four months Pension, £6. 13. 4, when paid you will please to pass to my credit.

By the foregoing it is seen that Mr. Hancock interested himself in securing from government a pension for the widow Mary Baker.

The following affords a glimpse of that famous lawyer, James Otis, as he enters the counting-room at Hancock's store, and presents his bill for legal services, Mr. Hancock having employed his friend and neighbor, Otis, to attend to some business for a friend in London :—

In our Company Letter of 28<sup>th</sup> Oct. 1763, we Inclosed you Mr. Otis' Receipt for cash pd. him Expences etc. for account of Arthur Jones, and desired you to receive it of Mr. Jones, and Credit our account but on looking over Your acc't I find no credit for it, & as I have not included it in Mr. Jones' account now sent him, I inclose you my Bill on Mr. Jones for £4. Stg. amt. of cash pd. Mr. Otis, which you will please to get paid and credit my account for the same.

You must Excuse me that I cannot send you all accounts by this, I have not been able, we have been terribly confus'd here, but hope we shall soon be redress'd. I have not yet had time to examine the accounts you sent, but shall finish all matters to go by Scott.

Other men call in time to secure Hancock's attention to other business before the sailing of the vessel, witnesseth the following:—

Inclos'd is a power of attorney to your G. H. from Sam<sup>l</sup> & Ebr<sup>r</sup> Brown of this Town, as also a Note of hand due from T. Jas Gruchy of Gurnsey for £53. 17. 8. Lawfull money. I take the Liberty to pray the favour of your G. H. to obtain payment thereof, which will much oblige the persons. I shall esteem a favour, when recd, You will please to pass the aint. to my credit and send me advice of it with the Charges, attending that I may pay the Browns.

My best wishes attend you & I am with unfeigned Truth,  
Gent.

Your real Friend & obed<sup>t</sup> Servt.

The appended paragraph affords a suggestion of the extent of John Hancock's business, and recalls the names of merchants and firms who constituted the business element of Boston at the close of 1765, or as English merchants were allied with those of Boston.

Bills drawn on you, not before advis'd of, & which you will please to honour —

To

Edward Wigglesworth	No. 24	£ 25
Arthur Jones & Co.	25	437. 2. 2
John Appleton	26	100
Iona Clarke	27	100
Sam <sup>l</sup> Eliot	28	200
Abig <sup>l</sup> Whitney & daughter	29	300
B. Gerrish Esq. (my order) Dec. 5		40
Richd Cary	30	150
Wharton & Bowes	31	120
Susannah Brimmer	32	100
Nath <sup>l</sup> Appleton	33	100
John Appleton	34	200
Sam <sup>l</sup> Fletcher	35	100
Clem <sup>t</sup> . Jackson	36	500
Caleb Blanchard	37	1000
John Marshall	38	90
		3562. 2. 2

This Bill not  
called for  
was De-  
stroyed.

I think I should not be charg'd  $\frac{1}{2}\%$  Cr on all the Bills, as one half is for purchase here for your acc'tt.

MESSRS. BARNARDS & HARRISON.

Edward Wigglesworth was an importer of British and India goods, and kept in Marlboro Street.

Others have appeared in this correspondence, and subsequent allusions are made to several of them.

Under the date of Dec. 21, 1765, Hancock writes to Devonshire & Reeves thus:—

I have sent you so fully my sentiments on the subject of the Stamp Act that I think I need not add more to convince you that it's highly disagreeable to the whole Continent, & I have strong hopes that the Parliament will relieve us.

Inclos'd I send you small order for Goods to be sent me by the first Spring Ship in case the Stamp Act is repeal'd, but if the act be not repeal'd, I must desire you will not send me one article in the Invoice, this is in consequence of the United Resolutions of the Merchants here & the other Trading Towns, & I have wrote to all my Correspondents in London to the same Effect. if the Stamp Act is repeal'd do let the goods be well put up & charg'd at the lowest price for which I will make you a punctual remittance.

I wish you health & happiness & am

Gent.

Your most obedt<sup>t</sup>. Servt.

The adjourned town-meeting of Dec. 26 was held, and its action, with others, had a great effect ; and the final result was, that the courts did proceed without stamps, excepting the Probate Court at Boston, of which Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson was judge. He soon resigned ; and Governor Bernard, after some delay, appointed Foster Hutchinson. He was ready to comply with the sentiments of the patriots. "Hancock and his crew," as they were derisively called in England and among the Loyalists on this side of the water, had a

powerful influence at this time of the Revolutionary period. No more trying winter can be imagined than this of 1765-1766. Business was largely suspended, and all was uncertainty ; no goods were ordered from abroad unless accompanied with the one proviso, the repeal of the Stamp Act. There were foes from within as well as from without. There were not wanting many wealthy, honored people, who sincerely believed that the so-called patriots were wrong, and were bringing ruin upon a happy and prosperous class of the subjects of the king. Honored pastors denounced these bold acts from their pulpits, and fervently prayed for God's mercy upon the misguided people, while they lost no opportunity to pray, "God save the king."

When we consider that Boston, the leading town in this rebellion, had only about 15,000 inhabitants, and the whole colony not over 240,000 souls, we can but pause and with bated breath wonder at the results. Ships now went to sea as before, but each went out with great uncertainty. In the midst of this depression Hancock was not so cast down as to lose all hope for the future. While he was prepared for the worst, he was ready to avail himself of the more favorable times.



JOHN HANCOCK'S MONEY BOOK.

On Jan. 22, 1766, he writes to his London agents :—

I wish you would give me the earliest notice in the Spring how you think the Price of oyl & Bone will Govern next Summer as also Pott Ashes, & w<sup>ch</sup> Sort of Oyl You would advise to be largest Concern'd in, as I am determined the Coming Year (please God I live) to be more largely Concern'd in oyl, Bone & Pottash than ever, If you can Advise the least prospect it may answer, I shall however abide by Your Advices, but am Determined to push in these Concerns & not have it in so many hands & should be glad to know Your inclinations as to a concern. I suppose You would be fond of, and in the half: I shall ship none in Compa with Folger, except what goes in the Boston Packett of w<sup>ch</sup> You will duly advise me. Do Justas You please, but I would not have You open Concerns with any others in that Branch, as it will hurt the whole, & I will Venture to say no man here can command more oyl or so much as myself & You may rely I shall always purchase on the best Terms, as I pay my Cash on the Delivery & that will always Command the Markett. I am sorry to tell you that I had the misfortune to have a Load of Oyl cast away on the Back of Cape Codd. Vessell entirely lost, but had the good luck to save almost all the Oyl, which was put on Board another vessell, but the wind being at this season to the No. West, She is not yet up, but hope she may soon be here. I only wait for that oyl to Dispatch Scott w<sup>ch</sup> will be up the first Southerly wind. The vessel that brought up part of the oyl on b'd Marshall was Cast ashore on Cape Codd, but luckily got off without much Damage.

Agreeable to a former promise, I have been obliged to draw on You a few Bills, as at Bottom in favr W<sup>m</sup> Phillips for Mr. Bromfield who was a passenger in Marshall, & in favr Mr. W<sup>m</sup> Gardiner, who is passenger in this vessell, as they Rest with You I must beg You will duly honor them.

Mr. Henry Bromfield, above mentioned, was later known as Colonel Bromfield. He was a prominent merchant of the time, and made frequent trips to England in the interests of his business. He was connected with the Fayerweather family by an early marriage, and later with the Clark family through marriage with a daughter of Richard Clark, a merchant of distinction

in Boston. The Clarks had a store in King (State) Street. Richard Clark was one of the consignees of the "obnoxious tea," and was obliged to retire for safety to the Castle at the time of the tea-party. Bromfield, to escape trouble, which he plainly saw was inevitable, purchased an estate in Harvard, and retired to it soon after the opening of the Revolution. He never gave up the Continental costume, but always adhered to his large powdered wig, square brown coat and vest, with broad pockets and lapels, black small-clothes or breeches, nice silk stockings, silver knee and shoe buckles, and carried a gold-headed cane. He commanded the respect of the people of the retired town of Harvard, where he is still pleasantly remembered. When he left the society of John Hancock and other merchants of the day, he took with him a negro body servant, Othello, or "Thurlo" as he was better known. This slave formed a very strong attachment for his master; but he evidently did not understand the occasion of his master's seclusion, regarding it as a sort of punishment. Othello was once heard addressing an unruly cow thus:—

" You are cross, you are ugly; you'll have to eat alone same as Massa does."

Colonel Bromfield, like John Hancock, had a strong attachment for his slave; and in the old burying-ground



HANCOCK FAMILY TOMB AT LEXINGTON.

at Harvard may be read, on a well-kept stone at an isolated grave, the following:—

OTHELLO,  
THE FAITHFUL FRIEND OF  
HENRY BROMFIELD  
CAME FROM AFRICA ABOUT 1760,  
DIED 1813, AGED ABOUT 73.

Colonel Bromfield's grave is in King's Chapel Burying-ground, Boston. The family monument is, like that of the Hancock family, at Lexington.

John Hancock finds it difficult to collect the bills belonging to the estate of his deceased uncle; and in this letter of Jan. 2, 1766, he writes to his agents:—

I should be very glad you would endeavor to obtain payment of the Bills sent you by my late Uncle long ago—say Shirley's, Gorhams, & many others, I can't but think the Government would pay Shirley's Bill if applied to. Do use Your Endeavours for me, for wch I shall be much oblig'd, it is hard I should lose them.

I am in great hopes to despatch Scott in ten days; in short, we are in such an unsettled state & in so much confusion that it is impossible to sit down quietly to do Business. But I sincerely hope we shall soon be re-instated in our former Situation by the Repeal or setting aside that unconstitutional, cruel & D——d Stamp Act, wch has done the Colonies more Injury than will be Recovered in many years. pray use your Influence for us. By Scott I shall send you an Invo. of goods for the full supply of a shop to come, if the Stamp Act be repealed.

I wish you the compliments of the season & am with the most perfect esteem,

Gentm., Your Real friend & most faithful Humble servt.

The adjourned town-meeting was much more quiet and peaceful. It was voted that the representatives of the town in General Assembly use their influence that justice be duly administered in the counties throughout the Province, and also use their influence that proper

inquiry be made into the conduct of any who have aided the Stamp Act. The meeting then dissolved. This relieved the selectmen, and John Hancock had more time to devote to his own affairs. Ever ready for any hopeful business venture, he continued a line pursued by his lamented uncle. It appears in the following letter:—

BOSTON, Janry 16th, 1766.

The delay of the Returns of the Survey of the Provisions at Chignecto & Annapolis and of sending to me the Condemned Provision, before wch I could not have completed Your accounts, has been the occasion that I have not till now wrote & Transmitted your accts. wch circumstance I hope will plead my excuse with You. . . . I also enclose your acct. of supplies for your contract of 500 men in Nova Scotia and charges attending it to June 25th. I enclose Your acct. Ballance due me £1340, 3-8. sterling for wch sum I have drawn a set of Bills of Exchange on You in favor of Messrs. Barnards & Harrison, merchts., in London, which you will please to honor and balance the commissions authorized between us. I have supplied provisions to the Garrison to carry on your contract, on the new agreement & shall continue it, till one of us gives the notice Specified in the article for an alteration, and I am now to acquaint You that I strictly adhere to my proposals made & Your agreement to my Taking Your contract at Four pence half penny sterl'g pr. man pr. Day, with the addition of £160 pay to Commissioner & look upon it that my Letters are as equally Binding and my Intention is that they should be, under the several Limitations in the Articles & Bond Sent me, as if they had been sign'd & properly Executed 25th June last, the Day I Took the contract, & mean to continue my Supplies in future under the same Restrictions & on the same Footing as mention'd in the articles; & hope I shall ever Transact it to the entire satisfaction of all concern'd.

I am with great Respect,

Sir, Your most obedt Humble Servt.

To MATHEW WOODFORD ESQ<sup>R</sup>.

## CHAPTER XII

HANCOCK STARTS A YOUNG MAN IN BUSINESS. BOLDLY DECLARIES HIS RIGHTS. INTRODUCES WILLIAM BOWES. HE SOLICITS BUSINESS. MERCHANTS IN LONDON FEEL THE BUSINESS DEPRESSION. UTTERANCES OF THE PRESS. LIBERTY TREE. HANCOCK ON COMMITTEE OF RESOLUTIONS FOR TOWN OF PLYMOUTH.

In a letter of Jan. 18 to Barnards & Harrison, he says he has purchased a large quantity of naval stores for the garrison at Nova Scotia, and adds:—

I hope the Brig. will arrive safe & meet a good market. pray obtain the best price for the whalebone. it is very good. I have had it by me for some time, I hope it will net a good profit. . . . I also enclose Your acct. of amt. of Boston Packett's last cargo, in thirds with you Folger & Starbuck & myself amt. to £3820, 2. 7. Lawfull money, one third the produce of wch you will pass to the Credit of my acct. £955, 0. 7½ sterl'g being cash paid by me for your third cost of Boston Packetts Cargo in Boston.

He notes the purchase of the brig Lydia "at £982 13s. 9d., with charges of £61 12s. 9d., making the whole cost complete for the seas £1044 6s. 6d." Of another plan to start a young man in business, he writes:—

Inclosed you have an Invoice of Goods to be put up & sent me in the spring as early as You can, if the Stamp act be Repealed, other ways not. These goods, I beg may be well chosen & Packed & charged at the lowest Rates. My design being to put them in a shop for Retail in which I shall place a young man who has been with me since my late uncle's death—as my brother's leaving the

store occasioned my wanting more help just at that juncture, as I had a multiplicity of affairs to attend to. Of whose abilities I have a high opinion & shall now make tryall as well for his advantage as my own & if it answers I shall order the goods after these to be charged to his accn't.

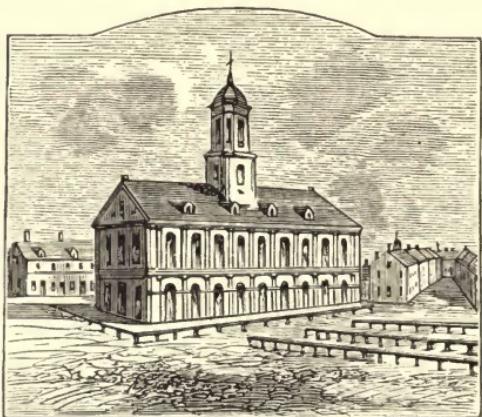
As another apology for seeming neglect he writes :—

I have wrote you so fully on the subject of our Grievances & Burthens that I shall not add on that Head, only say that if we are not Relieved our Trade is gone & we a Ruined people. I shall at once drop all Connections with Business, for I am so much of an Englishman that no power shall force me to carry on Business, the Profits of which to be applied to Place men, who we should be much better without than with them, neither is, nor shall my Property be at the Controll & Service of any one that pleases to demand it, wch I am sorry to say there is too great a probability of its being the case. But I am invariably Determined to support my Liberty and Property at ye expense of every thing else & will be free in a free Country & under a free Government. I have a Right to it & no man a Right to Deprive me of it. You may depend that by next opportunity I will close & send you all accounts of Vessels & sales, etc.

Notwithstanding the unrest and uncertainty of affairs, John Hancock endeavored to put himself in good standing with a business-house which was connected with his uncle. Of this he writes :—

I have it in my power, I think, to Transact all matters as well as any man in this country & wch shall always be Executed in the best manner, & shall hope for your Commands in preference to others. My scituation, ever since my Uncle's death, has been a scene of Hurry & our Confused State here has really prevented my closing matters as I could have wished to have done, but Beg Your Excuse, wch I am Confident you will Readily grant, considering all Circumstances. I imagine if the Stamp Act be repealed that you will be at no loss to freight Marshall & Scott & Doubt not but you will give them all the Despatch in yr. power. I desire you will send me by Scott Ten Tons of best Hemp, besides what I have wrote for to come in Marshall.

We now notice Mr. Hancock's first intimation of aiding his relatives. William Bowes, hereafter mentioned, was a cousin of the merchant ; he was one of that flock of children of the Bedford parsonage, cousins of John Hancock, who took such delight in the visits of the finely dressed boy who came out from Boston with his uncle and aunt to



FANEUIL HALL OF 1763.

get the country air. He writes :—

My particular friend & Relation, Mr. William Bowes, is Passenger in Captain Scott, he proposes spending six or eight months in England. I take the freedom to recommend him to your Particular Notice & Civilities, wch I doubt not you will cheerfully afford him & which I shall Esteem a favor. He is a gentn. of good mind, Sober, Honest & Industrious, & very Deserving, & one I have a high opinion of. I wish him a happy sight of you. I Refer you to him for all matters stirring here & hope his Visit to you will Establish an agreeable Correspondence with you. I beg the favr. of yor. best advice & assistance & that you will in all Respects grant him yor. Countenance. Should Mr. Bowes have occasion for money at any Time, I pray you will please to supply with what sum or sums he may apply to you for even to the amt. of one Thousand or Fifteen hundred pounds sterling, wch Charge to my acct. advising me thereof. I shall by next opportunity Transmit you some Remittance, as I would not by any means put you to the inconvenience of advancing for me, when I can possibly avoid it. Tho' it will sometimes happen so, & when it does I am ever Disposed to make every satisfaction ; but Considering the extent of my Business I hope you will think I do pretty well. I must Refer to my next, being now

Reduced to the evening to finish my Letters, & am Determined Scott shall sail early in the morning. Shall soon write you again when you may Rely I will close & send all accts. between us. My sincere wishes attend you for Health, Success and every kind of Felicity & believe with greatest Truth

Gentn., Your Real friend & most faithful humble servt.

MESS. BARNARDS & HARRISON.

Under the same date Mr. Hancock writes :—

Should the Stamp Act be repealed & our Grievances Removed I shall Extend my Business & in all my demands from your place wholly apply to your house, and having the highest opinion of your Fidelity & Integrity, I purpose next season to Build a vessell of about 110 Tons to keep Running between this & Bristol, having a person to put in her who has long been in my Employ.

John Hancock was not spoiled by coming suddenly into possession of a great business and fortune. It seemed to be his ambition to maintain the good reputation which his uncle, Thomas Hancock, enjoyed, and also to increase the business. If vanity was at times seen in his dress and habits, the only wonder is that his circumstances did not make him more so. His aim to extend his business is seen in the following extract :—

I am sensible of your connections & concerns this way with Respect to your Particular Business in Navigation &c. I suppose your intentions are to continue them, at least you will if they have been advantageous, as I imagine they have. I know not what alterations the melancholy event of Mr. Griffin's death may occasion in your concerns here, or perhaps you may have already placed them elsewhere. I mean not to interfere with your connections, but I beg leave to say that if at any time an opportunity may offer, when you can agreeable to yourselves place any concerns with me you may depend on the utmost Dispatch, Fidelity & punctuality & that in any commands you may please to favr. me with you may rely on the greatest attention to your Interests in all Respects. I think I may venture to say no man here can better serve your Interests than myself. You will excuse my mentioning thus much. I heart-

ily wish you every kind of Felicity & whenever I may be useful I beg you freely command —

Gentn.,

Your most faithful & obedt. Humble Servt.

TO MESSRS. DEVONSHIRE & REEVES.

On the same date he writes to recommend Edward Jackson, a brazier, to the firm of Barnards & Harrison for credit. On Jan. 25, 1766, he writes to Barnards & Harrison : —

Captain Freeman arrived here last night, but not a line from you — I should be heartily glad to hear from you on the subject of our American affairs. If we are not relieved our trade is gone, for it is the United Resolution of this Continent not to submit to the Stamp Act, as we look upon it as unconstitutional. Am very glad that you begin to feel the ill consequences of the Stamp Act, & I look upon it that the Stoppage of Importing goods & the failure of Re-



INVOICE HEAD USED BY JOHN HANCOCK.

mittances, wch must fail if our Trade be gone, will have as good an Effect as we can Desire, & I pray you will exert yourselves for us, as to the Rashness your G. H. mentions, we have been guilty of I look upon it that no such rash measures have been taken in what particularly respects the Stamp Act. The Injury that has been done the Lieut. Gov'r. was quite a different affair, & was not done by this Town & is what I abhor & Detest as much as any man breathing, and would go great lengths in Repairing his Loss but an opposition to the Stamp Act is highly commendable, when I say that, I don't mean that every step that has been taken is so, but as

a people & a wide extended Country the general Dislike & opposition to the act is commendable. But I have said enough to convince you of my Dislike to it & I pray we may be relieved. . . . My friend Wm. Bowes went in Scott. I Beg your particular notice of him & pray my hearty Love to him. Do write me often, pray send me by Capt. Marshall a peck of steel filings to use instead of Black sand.

To MESSRS. BARNARDS & HARRISON.

Hancock's sentiments written to foreign agents lacked none of the spirit of some utterances published in the papers of the time. They boldly denounced the Stamp Act as unconstitutional, and said, "Shall we not, then, all, as one man, join in opposing it, and spill the last drop of our blood, if necessary, rather than live to see it take place in America?"

It was at this time, Feb. 20, that there was a ceremony by the Sons of Liberty, who caused to be placed on Liberty-Tree<sup>1</sup> the following:—

THIS TREE WAS PLANTED IN THE YEAR 1646,  
AND PRUNED BY ORDER OF THE  
SONS OF LIBERTY, FEB. 14<sup>TH</sup>, 1766.

There was also a public burning of stamped papers sent up from Halifax with blood-red stamps on each.

With this public demonstration in mind, Hancock retires to his counting-room, and writes, on Feb. 26:—

I am very glad you have interested yourselves for us & wish your application may produce the Desired Effect. I am sure it is as

<sup>1</sup> The tree was cut down in 1775 by the British and Tories. One of the company was killed by the falling of a limb. A liberty-pole was erected and maintained on the spot for a long time.

much for the interest of Great Britain as ourselves to Ease our trade & in the case of the Stamp Act, there seems a necessity of Repealing it for almost to a man throughout the Continent, they are determined to oppose it, but I hope very soon to hear some good acct. from you. Do give me the earliest notice that the Parliament determines. I imagine the Brig Harrison will be the first Vessel here if the Stamp Act be repealed. You will have goods enough to load Marshall & Scott. Tho. they will be here late, I will Endeavor to have Oyl ready for them. I have now several whaling vessels of my own & in about three weeks shall fit them out, that with common success I shall have a large quantity of Oyl & Bone. I propose being pretty largely concerned the coming year in purchasing Oyl. I beg your opinion as early as possible as to oyl & bone. . . . I think I can venture to say that no man here can better consult your Interest in all Respects than myself. I hope soon to hear from you, my best wishes attend you for all Kind of Felicity, & I am with best Compliments & sincere Professions of Friendship

Gent<sup>n</sup>

Your Faithfull & most obedt

Humble Servt

MESS. BARNARDS & HARRISON.

The annual town-meeting of March brought added cares to the busy merchant. Besides a re-election as one of the selectmen, he was chosen on a committee with Samuel Adams to draw up a letter of thanks to the town of Plymouth, in recognition of one from that town addressed "To the Respectable Inhabitants of the Town of Boston," in which was expressed most hearty concurrence in all their recent acts. What part John Hancock had in the preparation of this letter is not known, but it stands on the records as a memorial of the sentiments of the town and of the committee. It concludes thus:—

"That the spirit of our venerable forefathers may revive and be diffused through every community in this

Land; that Liberty, Civil and Religious, the grand Object of their View, may still be felt, enjoyed and vindicated by the present Generation, and the fair Inheritance transmitted to our latest Posterity, is the fervent wish of the metropolis."

## CHAPTER XIII

THE REPEAL OF THE STAMP ACT. THE WELCOME NEWS BROUGHT BY HANCOCK'S VESSEL. THE PUBLIC REJOICING. HANCOCK FREELY TREATS TO MADEIRA. INSCRIPTIONS TO LIBERTY ENGRAVED BY PAUL REVERE. HANCOCK IN GENERAL COURT.

ON March 18 the Stamp Act was repealed, but it was two months before a copy of the act of repeal was received in Boston. It was expected, however, as is seen by the following letter to Devonshire & Reeves :—

BOSTON, *March 27, 1766.*

I hope soon to hear of the Repeal of the Stamp Act. It is such an oppressive & unconstitutional act that I am persuaded the Parliament upon consideration will Relieve us. I am much obliged to your good office in this matter, & hope your Representation will meet success. Please to send 100 Doz. Pins No. 4.; 10 Doz short whites.

On the same day to Barnards & Harrison he writes :—

I have wrote to Messrs. Devonshire & Reeves of Bristol to Draw on you for Balance of my acct. When their bill appears I pray the fav'r. You will please duly to honor it & charge its amt. to my acct. We are just beginning to fit out our whalemen & hope shall have good success. I have no acct. of Liberty, Capt. Smith. Hope he will soon arrive. I shall make no saving by her. I shall dispose of her next voyage. Messrs. Barker & Burnell of Nantucket & myself have entered a concern on a Brig, to be employed this season in the Straights on a Whaling voyage & if she meet with success is to proceed with her oyle & Bone direct from the Straights to London. She will go to Your address, by wch we shall make a considerable

saving, having made such arrangement with the crew as if she meets success, will be agreeable to our advantage of wch more hereafter.

The best wishes attend for all Happiness & believe me very sincerely Gent'n

Your most faithful & obliged Humble servt.

The Hancock home for many years had been one to which the officials and men of dignity had freely gone. Thomas Pownal, who preceded Francis Bernard as governor, was a warm friend of Thomas Hancock and wife, and had become much attached to their nephew. He looked after the young man when in England, and was still in correspondence with the merchant. To this man of distinction John Hancock writes on March 27, 1766:—

I am favored with Your Letter of Dec. 1, last, & note the contents. I observe what you mention with Respect to your money matters & the prospect of getting it home by means of General Gage's Bills on the Treasury & that he was to draw on me for the money. I have recd, a letter from General Gage on this subject, copy of wch I now Inclose You, by wch You will see he expects I send the Money to New York wch is impracticable, at least, untill I have your orders therefor, as it will be attended with some Risque, & that I could not take upon myself. I have wrote General Gage<sup>1</sup> that I could no way send the money to York without yor order, & indeed it seems not to be your intention by Your Letter. I likewise wrote him that I should Remitt the money to You from hence, this Spring. I am now to acquaint You that as soon as I possibly can procure Bills, I shall remitt the money & Lodge it in the hands of my Friends, Mess. Barnards & Harrison, Merchts in London & as soon as Effected shall order them to pay you the full Am<sup>o</sup> of the notes, with Interest in my hands: state of wch I shall send you as soon as I can procure the Bills & shall advise you of such my orders to those Gent<sup>n</sup> when you will please to give them a Rec<sup>t</sup>. in full of all monies lod'g'd in my late Uncle's hands.

My aunt has been long confined, but thank God is upon the

<sup>1</sup> General Gage was then commander-in-chief of His Majesty's forces in North America.

Recovery. She begs her particular respects to you & your Lady & congratulates you on your connection with so agreeable a Lady & wishes you every kind of felicity. I hope soon to hear the Result of Parliament with Respect to our American affairs & am persuaded that upon Consideration that most unconstitutional & oppressive Stamp Act will be Repealed. It is a Grievance that the Colonies cannot submit to. Our trade must be Ruined & think it much for the Interests of Great Britain to give us a free & extensive Trade. I shall be always glad of the honor of a Line from you. I heartily wish you Health, happiness & am with unfeigned esteem sir.

Your most obliged & most faithful Humble servt.

To His EXCELLENCY Gov. POWNAL.

On April 1 the inhabitants of Boston met in Faneuil Hall. The occasion, as stated by the moderator, James Otis, was the expectation of hearing an authentic account of the repeal of the Stamp Act. The selectmen were chosen as a committee to make plans for a season of rejoicing, and give the inhabitants seasonable notice in such manner as they shall think best.

While plans for the public demonstration are being carefully made by the committee, who doubtless meet in Hancock's counting-room, the merchant turns to his desk, takes his quill, and writes to London agents:—

We momentarily expect to hear from England. We have had several accts. that the Stamp Act is repealed & hope very soon to have a confirmation of it.

My Best wishes attend You, I cant add but that I am

Your very Humble servt.

MESS. BARNARDS & HARRISON.

On April 30, in another letter to his London agents, he speaks of the arrival of Captain Jacobson, who has brought news of the repeal, and says:—

I hope the next vessel will bring us the entire repeal of it. You may rest assured that the people in this country will exert themselves to show their Loyalty & attachment to Great Britain.

On May 27 he writes to the same persons : —

Our Brig Harrison Capt. Shubael Coffin brought us the first account of the Repeal of the Stamp Act, which gave us great Joy & has given a new face to things. Our rejoicing has been conducted in a very Decent, Reputable manner, & I hope now peace & harmony will prevail. My best Influence & endeavors to that purpose shall be used. I doubt not but the colonies will make all the grateful Returns in their power.

The Express sent off by your Merch<sup>ts</sup> we just hear is arriv'd at Virginia. Letters not yet come, that with the former Letter will be answered immediately after the Rec<sup>t</sup> of the Letter by the Express.

Capt. Marshall arriv'd here in a fine passage of 31 days from London, he is now unloading & I shall use my best endeavours to get him away as soon as possible, tho' oyl is not yet come in. The Brig Harrison is gone to Nantucket & hope she will be soon Dispatched. I cannot now make a particular Reply to your fav<sup>r</sup>s but will by Smith who will sail in about Fourteen days.

Your Real friend

& Oblig'd Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>.

MESS. HARRISONS & BARNARD.

With a light heart and a hopeful, cheerful manner, John Hancock, as all the merchants, start in for spring business.

It was on May 16 that a copy of the Act of Repeal was received in Boston.

It was an occasion of peculiar pride to Hancock that a vessel in which he was a part owner should have brought the official announcement of the repeal of the Stamp Act. Letters of gratitude were sent to the members of Parliament who espoused the cause of the colonies ; and their replies were laid before the people, who ordered them spread upon the records.

The public demonstration, so carefully planned by the town's committee, is one of interest to all who have entered into the spirit of the burden so long distressing the people. The plans and rejoicing, declared by Han-

cock to be "*Decent and Reputable*," was described more fully in the papers of the time, thus:—

April 28, 1766.—Monday last, The Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Boston, met at Faneuil Hall, where they were well pleased with the accounts which had been received from Home, in regard to the progress of the repeal of the Stamp Act; whereupon they voted the methods to exhibit their joy, when the

account shall arrive of the Bill for a Repeal has passed the whole Legislature voted unanimously that the magistrates of the Town, the Selectmen, Firewards, Constables and Engineers, be desired to use their utmost endeavours, to prevent any Bonfire being made in any part of the Town, also the throwing of Rockets, Squibs, and other Fireworks, in any of the streets of said Town, except the time that shall be appointed for general Rejoicings; and that the inhabitants be desired for the present to restrain their children and servants from going abroad on evenings.



OLD SOUTH MEETING-HOUSE.

The Sons of Liberty voted, May 17:—

That their exhibition of joy on the repeal of the Stamp Act be on the Common.

That fireworks be played off from a stage to be erected near the Work-House Gates.

That there be an advertisement published on Monday next, of the intended exhibition; the place where, and the time when it will end. I do therefore notify the friends of liberty, that an authentic account of the Repeal of the Stamp Act is arrived, and the gentlemen, Selectmen of Boston have fixed upon this evening, for the public rejoicing, at whose desires will be exhibited on the Common,

an Obelisk, engraved by Mr. Paul Revere. The signal of its ending will be by firing a horizontal wheel on the top of the Obelisk, when it is desired the assembly will retire.

By order of the Com.

(Signed) M. Y. Secretary.

May 19, 1766.

On May 26 appeared the following :—

Friday se'nnight, to the inexpressible joy of all were received by Capt. Coffin, the important news of the repeal of the Stamp Act, which was signed by His Majesty the 18<sup>th</sup> March last; upon which the bells in the town were set a ringing, the ships in the harbour displayed their colours, guns were discharged in different parts of the town, and in the evening were several bonfires. According to a previous vote of the town, the Selectmen met in the afternoon at Faneuil Hall, and appointed Monday last for a day of general rejoicing on the happy occasion.

The morning was ushered in with music, ringing of bells, and the discharge of cannon, the ships in the harbour and many of the houses in town being adorned with colours,—joy smiled in every countenance, benevolence, gratitude and content seemed the companions of all. By the generosity of some gentlemen remarkable for their humanity and patriotism, our gaol was freed of debtors,—at one o'clock the castle and batteries, and train of artillery fired a royal salute; and the afternoon was spent in mirth and jollity. In the evening the whole town was beautifully illuminated; on the Common the sons of liberty erected a Magnificent pyramid, illuminated with 280 lamps; the four upper stories of which were ornamented with the figures of their Majesties, and fourteen of the worthy patriots who have distinguished themselves by their love of liberty. The following lines were on the four sides of the next apartment, which referred to the emblematical figures on the lower story, the whole supported by a large base of the doric order.

On the first side :—

O thou whom next to heav'n we most revere,  
Fair Liberty! thou lovely goddess hear!  
Have we not woo'd thee, won thee, held thee long,  
Laid in thy lap, and melted on thy tongue,  
Thro' deaths and dangers rugged paths pursu'd,  
And led thee smiling to this solitude;

Hid thee within our hearts most golden cell,  
 And brav'd the powers of earth and powers of hell,  
*Goddess!* we cannot part, thou must not fly—  
 Be slaves! we dare to scorn it—dare to die.

On the second side:—

While clanging chains and curses shall salute  
 Thine ears remorseless G—le, thine O B—e  
 To you blest patriots, we our cause submit,  
 Illustrious (Camden) Britain's guardian, Pitt!  
 Recede not, frown not, rather let us be  
 Depriv'd of being, than of Liberty.  
 Let fraud or malice blacken all our crimes,  
 No disaffection stains these peaceful climes;  
 O save us, shield us from impending woes,  
 The foes of Britain only are our foes.

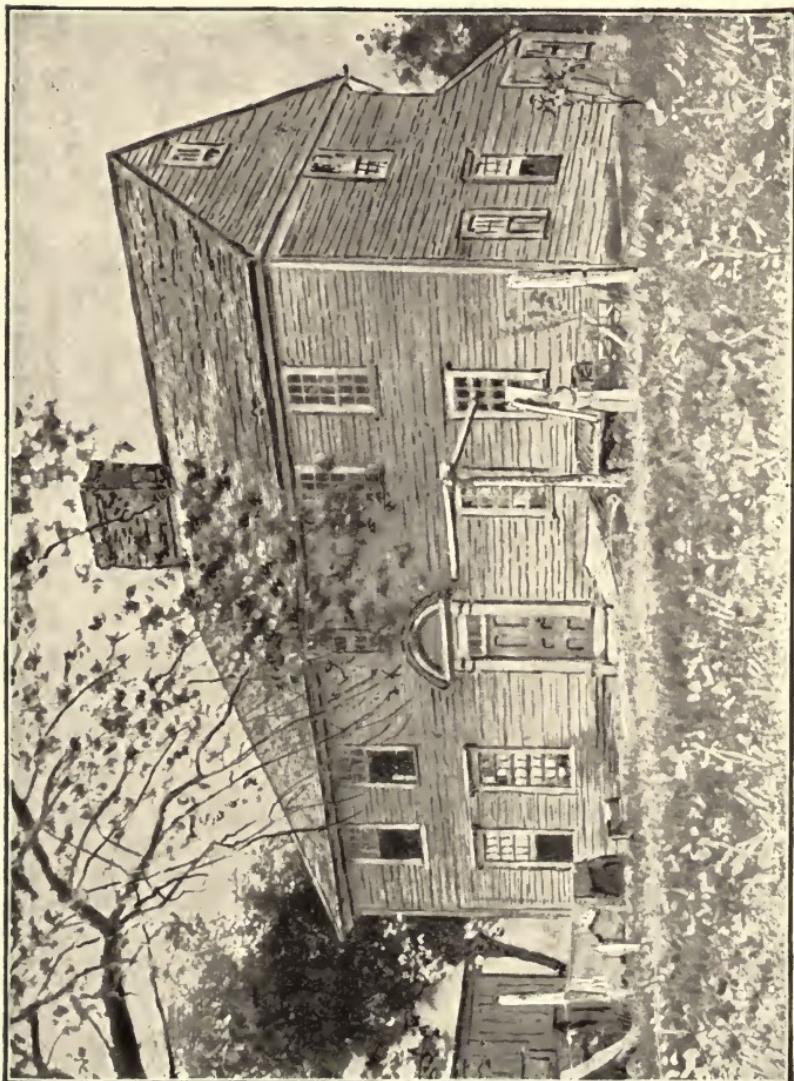
On the third side:—

Boast foul oppression! boast thy transient reign,  
 While honest freedom struggles with her chain,  
 But know the sons of virtue, hardy, brave,  
 Disdain to lose thro' mean despair to save.  
 Arous'd in thunder, awful they appear  
 With proud deliverance stalking in their rear.  
 While tyrant foes their pallid fears betray,  
 Shrink from their arms, and give their vengeance way,  
 See in th' unequal war oppressors fall,  
 The hate, contempt and endless curse of all.

On the fourth side:—

Our faith approv'd, our Liberty restor'd,  
 Our hearts bend gratefully to our sov'r'gn Lord;  
 Hail darling Monarch! by this act endear'd  
 Our firm affections are thy best reward.  
 Sh'd Britain's self, against herself divide,  
 And hostile armies frown on either side,—  
 Sh'd hosts rebellious, shake our Brunswick's throne,  
 And as they dar'd thy parent, dare the son,  
 To this asylum stretch thine happy wing,  
 And we'll contend, who best shall love our King.

On the top of the pyramid was fixed a round box of fireworks horizontally. About one hundred yards from the pyramid the sons



OSGOOD HOUSE, ANDOVER.  
Where James Otis died, May, 1783.



of liberty erected a stage for the exhibition of their fireworks, near the workhouse, in the lower room of which they entertained the gentlemen of the town. John Hancock, Esq., who gave a grand and elegant entertainment to the genteel part of the town, and treated the populace with a pipe of Madeira wine, erected at the front of his house, which was magnificently illuminated, a stage for the exhibition of fireworks, which was to answer those of the sons of liberty! At dusk the scene opened by the discharge of twelve rockets from each stage; after which the figures on the pyramid were uncovered, making a beautiful appearance. To give a description of the great variety of fireworks exhibited from this time till eleven o'clock would be endless — the air was filled with rockets — the ground with beehives and serpents — and the two stages with wheels of fireworks of various sorts.

Mr. Otis and some other gentlemen who lived near the Common kept open house, the whole evening, which was very pleasant; the multitude of gentlemen and ladies, who were continually passing from one place to another, added much to the brilliancy of the night. At eleven o'clock, the signal being given by a discharge of 21 rockets, the horizontal wheel on the top of the pyramid or obelisk was played off, ending in the discharge of 16 dozen of serpents in the air, which concluded the show. To the honor of the sons of liberty we can with pleasure inform the world that everything was conducted with the utmost decency and good order, not a reflection cast on any character, nor the least disorder during the whole scene.<sup>1</sup>

John Hancock was chosen one of four representatives to the General Court for 1766–1767. This brought added burdens and responsibility upon the merchant. It also afforded him an opportunity for proving the sin-

<sup>1</sup> By the foregoing account it is seen that fireworks were used as a means of public expression of joy long before the Declaration of Independence. It was recorded by Rev. Mr. Bridge of Chelmsford, Mass., on Oct. 25, 1759, that “a half doz. Sky Rockets were exploded” upon the receipt of the intelligence “of the reduction of Quebec.”

John Hancock, in a letter of Nov. 18, 1767, to George Haley, says, “Please to send me ‘The Art of making Artificial fireworks w<sup>t</sup> the method of Extracting Saltpetre &c’ by Robert Jones, Lieut. of Artillery, first published by subscription, 1766, octavo w<sup>t</sup> cutts.”

cerity of his letter to his London agents, in which he denounced the Stamp-act riot. At this General Court there was passed an act for collecting a tax on imports. This materially affected John Hancock; but it was a tax of their own laying, and aroused no serious opposition. The spring was now fully upon him; never before did June days seem to afford such pleasure. The oppression of the Stamp Act had been averted, and merchants felt that the future was secure. With all this to exhilarate John Hancock, he took his quill, and resumed business activity:—

BOSTON, *June 6th, 1766.*

GENL.: I wrote you by Jarvis, when I acknowledged the Rect. of your fav'r's by Coffin, Blake, Shard & Marshall, since wch have none of yo'r fav'r's. I must beg your further excuse, as I cannot by this ship make a particular reply to yo'r Letter, being very much engaged. I duly observe the contents & with regard to the Boston Packett, shall as soon as I hear from Folger, Determine that matter as you desire of wch shall write.

This I hope you will Rec'e by the ship Liberty, Henry Smith, Mas'r., who I have Loaded on my own accott and now Inclose you Invo. & Bill of Lading of cargo on board the Liberty for my accott. Say Oyl, Tar, Turpentine, Pottashes, Logwood & Staves to your address wch I wish may arrive safe & meet a tolerable market. I doubt not your best Endeavours to obtain the best prices & Recommend your Disposing of it as soon as you can on the best terms that you may be in cash, the Neat proceeds of wch you will please to pass to my credit with B & H unless you have settled that accott; that Ballance to your accott & pray you will as soon as you can send sales of this cargo with all charges attending the ship & also send the accott. of the Liberty, the former voyage. . . .

This ship Liberty I should be fond of selling & Recommend to you to use your best Endeavours for that purpose I would not give her away, but if she will fetch a £1000 sterl<sup>g</sup>. I should be glad to part with her & she is Really worth that, upon the whole I Leave her with you to do what you judge most for my interest. I should prefer Disposing of her to any tolerable price. . . . But if on the whole you cannot dispose of the ship, I pray the favr. you will en-

deavour to obtain some employ for her, & if after strict enquiry nothing better offers & a freight to Lisbon can be had, you will please to order to that place, & then take in a Load of Salt for this place, tho. I should much rather the ship was sold, & I must renew my desire to you on that Head. I have drawn on you of this date No. 51, in fav'r Mrs. Abigail Whitney and daughter for £300 st'rl'g, wch you will please to honour & charge to my acc'tt. My bills are under the same directions to your late Co. I have been so hurried have not altered them. Yet this you will excuse.

I should be very glad, if not already done, that you will plan to close my accott. with the late comp. of Barnards & Harrison & that the Balla. either may be carried to accott. with you, & pray include all remittances.

I cannot determine when I shall get Marshall away. Oyl is not yet at markett, but you may depend I shall use the greatest Dispatch in Loading her. I am not able to say anything as to the price of Oyl at present, but fear it will be rather high, but what I purchase shall be on the best Terms & shall endeavour that the price be as low as possible. I duly note what you say of whale Bone & shall be mindfull to purchase what I can that is good & shall advise you as I go on.

My best wishes attend for every kind of Felicity & believe me with great truth & affection Gent'n.

Your most obedt. servt.

MESSRS HARRISONS & BARNARDS.

Hancock next writes to his London agents, expressing gratitude for courtesies shown to Mr. Bowes, and says :—

I shall be glad of your advice to him in all Respects. I think it best to embrace the first good opportunity to Return. I am much hurried, you may depend on every service in my power to promote the Interests of your house.

On June 30, in addressing Harrisons & Barnards, he mentions having received a letter from merchants in London, and that it led to the calling a meeting of Boston merchants.

I laid the Letters before them for their consideration. We are much obliged to you for your Exertions & Endeavors to remove our grievances & doubt not but the Colonies will ever show great gratitude to their Benefactors, such certainly is the disposition of the people of this province.

I am with much esteem.

Gent'n, Yr. Most Humble Servt.

## CHAPTER XIV

HANCOCK'S ILL HEALTH. A MERCHANT'S SHREWDNESS. ABSORBING CARES. POWER OF RESENTMENT. BOSTON HARBOR FROZEN OVER. SCARCITY OF MONEY. HANCOCK REPRESENTS BOSTON IN THE GENERAL COURT. HANCOCK RECOMMENDS JAMES OTIS, ESQ., AS AN ATTORNEY. CHANGE IN LONDON AGENTS. HANCOCK SCATTERS GUINEAS AMONG HIS POOR TENANTS. NON-IMPORTATION RESOLUTIONS ARE REVIVED. ORDERS WINE FROM MADEIRA. HANCOCK HAD EVERYTHING TO LOSE AND NOTHING TO GAIN.

A LETTER of July 28, 1766, affords light on the financial management of business :—

I have Drawn a few Bills on you as at Bottom hereof. I could not avoid it, you will please to honour & Charge to my acco'tts. I shall hope soon to Rec'e my acco'tt Curr'tt. I know not how my Acco'tt stands with yo'r late Co. I want to have that acco'tt Settled.

I hope by this my Ship Liberty is safe with you, I wish you may be able to Dispose of her to my advantage pray do the best you can for me.

You must Excuse my adding being very unwell & Scott waits only for my Dispatches, that I must Close, shall soon write you again.

My best wishes attend you for every Felicity & I am with perfect esteem  
Gent'n,

Your most obed't Humble Serv't.

Bills drawn, viz.: :

To S. Whitney & daughter . . v.	52	26th July	£300
Jos. & Danl. Waldo . . . .	53	do	300 for Pottash
Jno. Cunningham . . . .	54	28th July	200
Wharton & Bowes . . . .	55	do	170
do. . . .	56	do.	105
Clement Jackson . . . .	57	do.	400
			£1,475

I could not avoid, as I must keep some money by me ready for Bone & oyl as it comes in. Inclos'd you have Duplicate of Inv'o for fall goods.

MESS HARRISONS & BARNARDS.

The session of the General Court which began May 28 was a stormy one, and Hancock was soon reported too ill to attend to all that demanded his attention.

In a letter of Oct. 7, 1766, he speaks of illness. It seems to be the alarm-signal of an overtaxed physical and mental system. On Oct. 15 he sends to London for four pieces of very best Bay Holland and two of best cambric "for my own use. Pray let them be the very best & well chosen." He asks for directions about disposing of a trunk of silks shipped some time before. He says, "They lay in my store. I can never sell them, & wait your directions." He writes that Lane, Benson, & Co., of Cork, have some demands against him, and adds : —

They have but an indifferent opinion of me, but I can't help it. I could wish it had been otherwise. I hope my friend Bowes will come in ship Thames, and that he has conducted himself in London so as to merit your esteem and approbation.

He fails to realize that sudden improvement in business which he anticipated. He says : —

Our trade is very dull, money very scarce and but an indifferent prospect of carrying on Business to any advantage. Out of all my connections and debts I can't raise cash enough for a Load of Oyle without drawing my own Bills.

By Nov. 8 his spirits have revived, and he is evidently exulting because of some advantage obtained over his commercial competitor, Mr. Rotch. He says : —

I have now so well established in those concerns in the Whale Fishery that I can have the refusal of almost all their oyl & I think

Mr. R——h has had small success in purchasing & by far the greatest quantity of oyl will be in your hands which is my aim.

I am now fitting up the ship Thomas, Wm. Davis mastr. with oyl. My view in this is to prevent their purchasing and to hinder what oyl I can going into other hands, as by large quantities centering with you, you will be better able to command a price & I hope you will approve this. I believe I may say I have purchased the greater quantity of what oyl has been caught this season & after the ships Freeman & Daverson are gone I know not of any oyl but what I have got. That I can't but think you will have it in your power almost to obtain your own price for it. I doubt not but you will exert yourself in the Disposition of it.

On Nov. 10 he writes to his London agents. The burden of his letter seems to be complaints of a charge for interest on his unsettled account with them. He mentions that he has two thousand barrels of oil to ship. He also lets them know that other business firms are soliciting his patronage, thus :—

I hear Messrs. Kilby & Symes are setting up a House to be connected here. I believe they will not succeed here, persons are not fond of forsaking old friends for new ones, for my part, I am not. I think already there are Houses enough established to transact what Business may be carried on to advantage. Mr. Willim. Butters has also wrote me on this subject, but I wave my connection with others, having the strictest Dependence on you both in point of Honor & friendship. I shall soon write you again. I have been & still am so excessively hurried that I have scarcely time to sleep, what with attending court in the House of Assembly, my own store & ships in & out. Whalemen fitting out for the West Indies & all my oyle men with open mouths gaping for money. I have enough to do, but you & I love hurry which will be my lot while I live.

I am with perfect Esteem Gent<sup>n</sup>

Your affectionate Friend & oblig'd  
Humble Servt.

MESS. HARRISONS & BARNARDS.

There is appended to this letter a list of bills drawn on the London house to the amount of £4,524. Han-

cock's business "taffy," as it would be termed in modern parlance, did not accomplish what it was expected to effect. He writes to the same agents on Dec. 3, 1766:—

To be open & honest, I now tell you I will never excede to it—otherways — really Gent'n. it is making a mere fool of me. I am not as void of common sense, as to give way in this, contrary to my own judgment, but I wave expressing fully my sentiments as to your transactions in this matter, but will only say that I expect you will credit my acct. for the £300 & interest charged upon it, which if I have not an acct. from you of its being done in the first letter I receive from you after this reaches you, I will upon my Honor & Reputation send a single writ down to Casco Bay & take Savage & secure myself for the £300 with Interest. I will strictly abide by all my letters, but this treatment really vexes me & I see so much of the world that I am almost tempted to say I will not concern myself in trade any longer. I beg your attention to these matters & that I may hear from you by the very first oppory, for I will not loose the £300. I will as things are circumstanced obtain it if it be to be had above ground. I can't but think myself very severely dealt with, better Treatment Gent'n. I think without vanity I meritt. Tho I must say I see no Difference between me & the most insignificant correspondent you have. In short Gent'n. you seem of late to try to put me out of Temper & express so very little satisfaction in my conduct, that I am almost tired. No man can have a higher opinion of you than myself; nor has anyone strove more to promote your Interests here than myself. I cannot live in constant Disputes. I will live as agreeable & easy as I can & unless I can carry on Business without being Involved in so many perplexities as of late, I will either leave it off or carry it on in another manner. But I hope you will redress me.

He follows by saying, "send me no more unless you can give me one year's credit, as I have to give the same here." In the same pouch he sends an order for goods for William Palfrey, whom he is aiding to start in business. With other things for himself he orders :—

1 Box very best Tobacco pipes that can be purchased in London for use of Gent'n. in my own family. This article has been repeatedly wrote for, but not so lucky as to engage your attention.

Who cannot fancy an evening at the Hancock mansion, when the merchant entertains his relatives and such guests as James Otis, Samuel Adams, John Adams, John Rowe, William Phillips, Joshua Henshaw, and other notables of that day, who gather with the proud owner about the grate of flaming coals. If dress had been considered, Samuel Adams would not have been admitted; for his snuff-brown coat, glistening with the effects of long service, was in striking contrast to the scarlet velvet and elaborate embroidery of his entertainer. But the republican simplicity of the man made him a welcome guest among all genuine patriots. Circumstances had brought Hancock and Adams together much of late. They had served on various committees chosen to prepare letters and resolutions of importance. If Adams wrote the letters, Hancock furnished the quills. What one lacked the other supplied, making a most effective combination. In addition to the pipes, Mr. Hancock ordered at the same time "4 Doz. very best India Handkers, for my own use. 2 Doz. of them blue ground & 2 chocolate ground, pray let them be very best." On Dec. 15, 1776, he writes to introduce William Breck, who is just entering into business. Hancock writes :—

He served his time with Mr. Timo. Newell; from the knowledge I have of the Simplicity & Integrity of this young man, I could not help recommending him to you for what few goods he may want. I shall have an eye over him myself.

On Jan. 12, 1767, he writes hastily to "Wm. Reeves, Esq.," as follows :—

I shall start Scott as quick as possible. No man can or shall give greater Despatch to ships than myself, neither shall any man here Transact any Business on better terms than I will & any command you may have for, you may rely on the utmost Fidelity, Dispatch & Punctuality.

His later explanation of a delay is that the harbor has been frozen up, and he could not get Scott away. He at same time sends to his agents for—

A neat silver watch of about 8 Guineas; 2 yds of Green Velvet of a deep lively green at abt. 10 per yard; 4 yds green silk, being for a cushion for a church Desk.

Mr. Hancock's book shows that he shipped to London in six months oil to the amount of £16,307 8s. On April 22, 1767, he writes to Harrisons, Barnards, & Co.:—

Please to send me a bell for a church of the best kind, about 300 lbs.

This was probably a gift to the church at Jamaica Plain, where he had a summer home. In May, 1767, he complains bitterly of the condition of business.

I shall stop importing goods for some time, they have been sold so low that nothing can be got by the business.

On July 29, 1767, he orders—

100 weight best moulded tallow candles, 200 weight best dipt. tallow candles, all for my own use & don't fail sending them.

He adds, in vindication of former transactions :—

I a little wonder at what you mention respect'g the affair of Mr Arthur Savage. I cannot give a better answer to it than by Begging you to refer to my two Letters of Novr 17, 1764, by which you will see I advis'd you not to credit him, rather than anything encouraging, & the Sincere Dictates of my conscience are that I am

no more accountable than the most indifferent person, that as you have rec'd from him the £300 I limited his Credit to, it is of course, cancell'd.

He further adds : —

The scituation of our trade & the scarcity of money is such that I have almost come to a Resolution to suspend the Importation of Goods for a year or two, till matters take a Better turn, & then shall have time to close all my accts. Then I shall know whether I can realize anything or not, for times are very precarious. You ship goods to any & everybody, send for sales here the articles we import, and employ persons to purchase up here our Exporting commodities that I know not how we shall make remittances for our goods already imported. That I don't think is right, for besides raising the prices it must put us in Difficulty in remitting & you must wait with patience.

What merchant has not passed through such seasons of depression, and does not have in his bosom a fellow-feeling for John Hancock in his fits of despondency of more than a century ago? What wonder that he closes his letter to Harrisons & Barnards thus : —

I am now very much engaged, & having been lately in a bad state of Health & am not able to add much more at present; don't forget the candles.

Mr. Hancock was much absorbed in the business of the General Court, where he ably served as chairman of committees, maturing measures of the House. He became more and more positive in his policy of resistance, as the conflict between the governor and the House became more vehement. In fact, he used much time for the public good which might well have been spent in conducting his own business.

On Aug. 25 and 26 he writes to agents, pleading the multiplicity of business as an apology for neglect of remittance.

To Harrison, Barnard, & Sprag he says :—

The great and unreasonable Extent of your connections here and the Many and frequent Credits you give, w<sup>th</sup> the Decline of our Trade has brought me to a Resolution of stopp'g, at least for a few years the Importation of English goods, & seeing all my acc't closed, among which yours is the greatest, for if I can meet with no more Indulgence in the Course of my Business with you than the man who perhaps does not import more than £1000 a year, & the advantage of his Business to you accrues only on your Exports of goods, whereas mine the year throughout is not only outward but more on the importation from me. I say if I can be only on a footing, it is time for me to close, & establish my Concern on a more equitable basis, w<sup>ch</sup> I think is but Reasonable.

His consignments of whale-oil have not been giving satisfaction in London and other markets, and there has come to him a polite suggestion that there be sent over from London a man to inspect the oil, etc., before it is shipped. This does not meet with a very pleasant réception on the part of Hancock, who in a reply of Sept. 2, 1767, to his London agents, says :—

I note particularly what you say at waiting my answer to a proposal you have made, by the instigation of Messrs. Moor & Smith, to send me over a man to inspect Oyl that I may purchase. What you mean, Gentln., I am at a loss to know. When I am in want of a Guardian our laws will appoint one. Really I know not what you think. I am a Judge for myself, & if you do not think me a Judge for you, I pray you would not employ me, for I will never submit to have a man sent over to inspect my business, to make me the ridicule of the merchts., neither do I Choose that the Oyle I send home should be put into the hands of those Gent<sup>n</sup> on the terms you have contracted with them.

On Sept. 3 Hancock writes a letter which shows his power of resentment to its fullest extent :—

MR. WM. JONES :—

Your treatment of me has been such as to render you unworthy of my notice, even by my letters. But I shall not take up my time

to inveigh against you. Shall only say that you have deviated from as solemn engagement as words could form. My Reliance upon your honor has been the means of my losing at least £500 stg. Your taking the advantage of me, because our agreement was not committed to writing, as we were upon honor, I must tell you is beneath the character of a gentleman & what no man would have been guilty of that had the best notions of honor. I forbear mentioning the circumstance of the affair, as it is very disagreeable to me. I greatly reflect upon myself that I should submit to your Repeated solicitations to form a connection. It was contrary to the advice of my friends who knew you better than I did. The goods you consigned me on your return to Bristol you may order out of my hands when you please, for you can't expect that I should be accountable when you have broke the terms on which they were sent. I now utterly forbid you ever to ship me a single article again & desire you will never more solicit me on that head. I Despise you for your conduct towards me & desire no connection with you. You have greatly deceived me, but it shall be the last time. As soon as the ship is sold & her accts. settled & I know what I loose by her I shall then take advice as to Recovering it of you.

I am for form sake,

Your Humble Servt.

A letter to William Reeves explains the unsettled condition of trade at this time :—

It is surprising to me that so many attempts are made on yr. side to cramp our Trade. New Duties every day, increasing, in short we are in a fair way of being Ruined, We have nothing to do but unite & come under a solemn agreement to stop importing any goods from England, at least for a year. This, I am determined to promote, all in my power, & as to myself, I am resolved, till I see affairs on a better footing not to import any kind of goods from England & will effect it with others, as far as my influence will prevail. The articles of Glass, etc., I find has a new duty fixed upon it. I will sooner shut up my windows or undergo many inconveniences before I will Import a single Box.



HANCOCK SUN-DIAL.

(Lexington Library.)

Hancock writes to his London agents, advising them to employ, as their attorney here, James Otis, who, he says, since the death of Mr. Gridley, is the first of the profession. He offers to receive and remit any moneys that Otis may collect for him. In the same letters he again strongly objects to the suggestion to send over an inspector of oil, and concludes his long letter thus:—

You never make any mention to me of public matters. Your hints on that subject would be very agreeable. Could you be brought to Realize that the salvation of Great Britain & America are connected, I am sure you would not be so silent. I observe what you say of Marshall. I think he ought to wait, or any other vessel, for freight. We had much better dispose of our vessels than sink so much money. She had better bring stones than coals. I pray you would not send any more, they are cheaper here than in London.

The indignation of Hancock seen in previous letters was aroused through his interest in the welfare of his country, while the following letter shows the same spirit aroused through alleged personal injury. It marks the beginning of the end of a long and extensive business correspondence between the Hancock firm and that of Barnard & Harrison.

I received your Letter of 15th July which I heartily wish had got here in a tolerable passage, as if it had Gent'n. suffer me to tell you, it would from the Contents have much alter'd my plan of Business this Fall ; such a Letter I despise, & is what no man who had any knowledge of me would have dar'd to address to me. for God's sake Gent'n. what can be your intentions, if your aim is to injure my reputation you will fail in your attempt, neither is it in your or any man's power to hurt my Credit in this part of the world, but it appears to me you are injuring yourselves. I mean as to connections in Business & tho' by experience I find I have no influence with you, let me tell you, I am one of no small influence here, & am greatly offended at the liberties you take with me in your Letters & is what

I should have disdained to have wrote a man of much less Consequence than myself.

You can be at no loss to determine what particular passages in your Letter I refer to, but will in the first place mention your Letter to Mr. Palfrey upon the same subject with the Paragraph in yours respecting that Gent'n. You say you received his letter & pay a propper Respect to him & my recommendation, but as you are determined to retrench your trade, you must beg to be excused, sending his goods. In your letter to me you say, "We have wrote Mr Palfrey by this opportunity acquainting him that we must decline his orders, we have the highest opinion of your good intention towards us, & you will we doubt not excuse us."

How Repugnant is your conduct to your expression in your Letters to say you have the highest opinion of my good intentions & to act so contrary, nay openly & in Effect, to say that I am not of Reputation & Credit enough to answer for the Goods. You say you want to retrench your Trade. Why Gent'n. am I the first object of your Trial? I should not have expected this from those with whom the whole extent of my Business, centrs, that I should be one of the first to be Refused Goods is truly very astonishing to me, that an Invoice sent home to you for a few goods to stock my own shop under the direction of Mr. Palfrey should be refused is as high an affront as I can receive & what I shall not very readily put up with. I look'd upon my recommendation & Credit to be of some weight with you, but I find it otherwise, if 500 shop keepers were recommended by some they would be instantly supplied & if I can't be on at least the same footing with them it is time to withdraw my connections in Business & retire. I could have wished you had not ship'd my Goods. You might with equal propriety have refus'd in this instance as well as the other, & your conduct towards me Gent'n. is unaccountable. I am really much troubled & look upon myself extremely ill used. I can not see how you can reconcile it.

Another instance of your extraordinary conduct is in the refusal of the Goods to Mess. Cazneaus who I strongly recommended to you with this additional aggravation that They sent you my bill of £200, in part pay for the goods. is not this conduct a very great slight upon me & paying a very little Credit to my Recommendation or my Bill. It is in effect protesting my Bill. I am amazed & it wholly divests me of all manner of patience. I am now to desire you will please to order my whole accott. to be got out & sent me & if after examination they appear to be right, I will instantly order

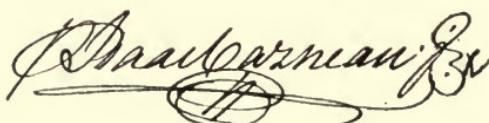
you the full balance, with as many thanks for your many services hitherto.

But I must add Gent'n. from the treatment I have had that unless matters can be better Reconciled I must wave my Connections. I stand ready at an hours warning to pay every debt I owe in the world but as I can't be thought by you to be Responsible for £500 I must apply to those who have a better opinion of me than you have.

I always chuse Gentn. to be open and explicit. I have wrote Mr. Haley by this opportunity on the subject of connection in Business, & proposed opening a Correspondence with him at least till I can have an explanation from you. I look on myself a man of Capital & am not to be put on a footing with every two penny Shop keeper that addresses You. I am greatly amaz'd at your conduct. I think I am very poorly treated, & I suppose the only instance in town. I doubt not when Scott arrives he will bring Goods for every Shop Keeper that deals with you, & to refuse me Goods Gentn. is what I can't bear. I am ready to pay you every farthing I owe you. You have effected me in the tenderest point.

I have determined to sending Invoice to Mr. Haley for a spring supply, & let me tell you you are oblig'd to me for some of your best Correspondents, who would naturally be induced to deal with the man I engage with, & will follow me, and although my business is not worth your attention, Yet it may be an object of the acceptance of many a man in England, with thanks besides, & I believe Mr. Haley will think so.

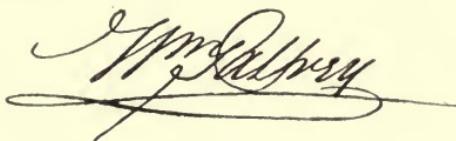
Mr. Cazneau, whom you disappointed in his Goods, is going to England, to whom I shall give a more extensive credit than I did before, & dare say Mr. Haley will readily accept his Commission, as to Mr. Palfrey's goods, I shall write for them myself to Mr. Haley, & am in no doubt he will readily oblige me in sending them.



I have many more things to say but time fails me as I keep this vessell wholly for my Letters, all my Friends & Connections are amaz'd at your Conduct, but I suspend adding till next opp'y, till when I am  
Gentn

Your humble Servant.

Mr. William Palfrey, whose order was refused by the London merchants, seems to have been a friend, and at times confidential clerk, of Hancock's. Cazneau was a

A cursive signature of "Wm Palfrey" in black ink, with a decorative horizontal line underneath.

merchant of standing in Boston at the same time. Palfrey and Cazneau were both losers by the great fire of 1760, the same fire by which many of Hancock's tenements were destroyed. When the homeless tenants gathered around their landlord, and expressed sympathy at his loss, he remarked that they were the greatest sufferers, and passed about a quantity of guineas among them.

Having closed his letters to Harrison, Barnard, & Sprag, the indignant merchant writes to George Haley, Esq., under the same date, Oct. 16, 1767:—

SIR: I imagine you are no stranger to me or my connections. If you recollect you may remember seeing me in England in the year 1760, when I had the pleasure of being at your house. Tho. I have no greater intimacy, I take the Liberty to address you on the subject of Business, which, as you well know my former connections, may perhaps be a little surprising to you, but I will be as explicit as the time will admit, this vessel being kept solely for my letters, partly to oblige me. My late uncle Thomas Hancock for many years dealt with the house of Kilby & Barnard, & I in partnership with him, after my return from London dealt with the House of Barnard & Harrison, & by myself since the decease of my late uncle, till now have dealt with the same house, to a very large extent. But by Capt. Daverson, who arrived yesterday, I Received letters from them which have given me much disgust & I have come to a Resolution to alter my connections, the first person that occurred to my mind was you, Sir; upon which I conversed with Mr. Thomas Gray on the subject, who seemed of opinion you would with pleasure undertake my concerns, & who I believe will write you on the same

subject. In Confidence — Sir, that such a connection would be agreeable to you, I now address you tendering you the conducting of all my affairs that lay in your way, at same time acquainting you that I expect to be on a footing even with the very best of your correspondents, & as I am largely concerned in navigation you will have Spring & Fall from me, many consignments. I have now large parcels of Oyle, whale fins & Potashes to ship waiting the arrival of Scott, Marshall & Smith from your place, whom I shall despatch, loaded to your address, not doubting but you will concern yourself for my interest as you do for others.

Marshall & Scott are partly owned by the House of Harrison, Barnard & Sprag. Those vessels on their arrival back to you, I shall order to be sold & shall desire you to purchase for me, of which more hereafter. I have a new Brig which I expect in every hour, whose loading is already in store on my wharf, say Oyle, Pottashes &c., which I shall despatch to your address, the vessel to be sold. I have not time to be as explicit as I could wish, but will by next.

My character & situation in Life, you may be acquainted with from any person from this part of the world, from Harrison & Co., from Mr. Trecothick, Mr. Lane & many others, but really I address you Sir, as a man on whom you may depend, & a man of capital & in whom I have the vanity to say, you may confide.

The vessel by whom this goes, I have loaded with Oyle &c., to the address of Harrison & Co. My letters were all finished & delivered before Daverson arrived, otherwise I should have consigned this to you. I have wrote Messrs. H. & Co. very explicitly by this opprty, as I have kept the vessel on purpose. In consequence of this consignment I have drawn Bills on them perhaps to the amt of £3000 stg. Should they from my openness in addressing them be induced to protest my Bills by way of Resentment, which I have no suspicion of, I must take the liberty to ask the favor of you to take them up for my honor, & will immediately on notice order you the amount with any satisfaction for such. . . . By next opportunity I shall write you more explicitly & shall forward you my Invoice for a spring supply of goods, which from the General decline of Trade will be smaller than usual, but hope hereafter things will take a more favorable turn. I shall be glad of a letter from you as soon as possible & should be glad to know something of your connections, & whether you cannot give my vessels a freight Spring & Fall. I dou't not but you will help me all you can. Your determination on

these points, as soon as may will be agreeable. I ask pardon for the Liberty I have taken & in confidence it shall be to mutual advantage. I am with Esteem

Sir —

Your most obedt. humble servt.

GEORGE HALEY ESQ<sup>R</sup>.

The disadvantage of being obliged to wait many weeks for the reply of acceptance from Mr. Haley did not prevent Mr. Hancock from sending goods, assuming that his proposition would be accepted by Haley. Hancock sends several cargoes before he is fully assured that he has a new agency established in London.

Mr. Hancock makes frequent complaints of his ill health, and says on October 30:—

I have the misfortune to be confined to my Room by Indisposition, but am in hopes soon to recover.

Nov. 2, 1767, he addresses his former agents at London with bitter complaints of their treatment, and says:—

I will never again have it said that anyone is connected with me in shipping.

On Nov. 6 he sends to Haley a cargo, with orders to have the vessel proceed with coal for ballast to Madeira. He orders at the same time,—

Two pieces of the very best English Damask, exactly of color of enclosed pattern, which is only to show the color. As they are for my mother and family, I beg they may be good.

This is the only intimation of the mother of John Hancock afforded by the letter-book. But we have no reason to think that the boy's affections were all centred in those who had opened their luxuriant home to the youth. The widow of Rev. John Hancock of Braintree had long before this date become the wife of Rev. Daniel

Perkins of Bridgewater.<sup>1</sup> In fact, John addressed his stepfather when he was in England under date of March 2, 1761. He said:—

I shall with satisfaction bid adieu to this grand place with all its pleasurable enjoyments and tempting scenes, for more substantial pleasure which I promise myself in the enjoyment of my friends in America.

There was a twofold interest in the Perkins family.



HANCOCK DOOR-KNOCKER.

(Old State House Collection.)

A son of the Bridgewater minister married Mary, sister of John Hancock; and their posterity are found interested in subsequent history of the Hancock family.

On Nov. 2 the Brig Lydia, James Scott, master, sailed with a cargo, consigned to Mr. George Haley. A letter of the same date concludes with the following:—

I have sent you by Capt. Scott,—A Coop with some wood Ducks. It, at first contained six pair, some have died, but hope some will get safe to you.

- 1 Quintal dun Table Fish.
- 1 Cag of Pickled Peppers.

of which I beg your acceptance, if there be anything in this part of the world that would be agreeable to you do let me know it & I will gladly send it you.

I am with Esteem Sir,

Your most hble Servant.

GEORGE HALEY ESQ.

In the same vessel he sends directions to his former agents to have the brig in which they have joint interests sold, and says:—

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. John Hancock, mother of the patriot, was Mary Hawks, and thrice married, first to Mr. Samuel Thaxter of Hingham.

I am determined to deal for Cash only and to keep one vessel running just to bring my own Goods, I should be glad to hear from you & know the reason why I am so freely and extraordinarily dealt with. I have gent. the highest friendship for you, but I can't bear to be so treated. I am above using others so, & dont expect it myself. I however hope to come to some amicable accommodation, but my navigation I am determined to dispose of, & now particularly say, that hereafter if I should live I will never be concerned with any one man again in Navigation, for I can afford to own myself & will never after this have it said that any one is connected with me in shipping. I will accept in the case of the Thames Capt Watt. I am content to hold my part of her if agreeable to you—if not agreeable to you, I am content to sell my  $\frac{1}{3}$  of her to you.

I am now so hurried cant add and but will write you largely soon, & am

Your real friend.

HARRISON, BARNARD & SPRAG.

On Nov. 12, 1767, he sends to Madeira for —

Four pipes of the very best Madeira Wine that you can possibly procure for my own table. I don't stand for price, If it be good, I like a Rich wine. & if you can ship a Pipe of Right Sterling old Madeira, Pale & Good, you will add it. I like pale wine, but I need say no more than that they are for my own use, & I beg they may be the very best that can be purchased. Mark them I \* H. I pray distinguish them from any other on board, by some private mark, acquainting me thereof in your letter. I am also to desire you will please to ship me by the same vessel six pipes of good salable Madeira wine for our market. I would have them good & such as will answer for our Public houses here, where the best company resorts, these you will mark HK, and do let them be good, of their kind. I would not have them of too Inferior quality, for the cost of these wines you will please to draw Bill for my acct. on George Haley Esq. Mercht in London at thirty days sight, to whom I have wrote to pay due honor to such, Your Bill.

You will also ship by my sloop Two pipes more of the best Madeira, consigned to me, in separate Memo. & Bill of Invoice Mark them to H. G. T. They are for the Treasurer of our Province & you will please to let them be good, & draw for their cost with the other.

If you or your friends have any wine or freight to ship this way,

I should be oblig'd to you to give my vessell the preference. She is really a good strong vessel well found and a good master.

I shall be much obliged to you to dispatch my sloop with the wines as soon as you possibly can, as I shall not only want the wines but the sloop, and you will please to receive this as a standing order to ship me an annual pipe of the very best Maderia wine until counter manded drawing for its cost on Mr. Haley. You will please to give the master of my sloop any service or assistance, Respecting his vessell he may stand in need of. I am with much respect,

Gent.

Your most obedt. servt.

MESS. HILL, LAMAR & BISSETT.

Six days later he adds a letter in which he says :—

I have not to add, but to desire that the wine, I have wrote for my own use may be of the very best and that those for sale may be good palatable wines. Please send me one bushel of your walnuts, and draw for the cost with the wine.

Nov. 21, 1767, is the date of a letter to George Haley, in which Mr. Hancock says :—

I am to Desire the favr. you will please to order to be made & sent me, as neat a Mahogany Cabinet as can be made in London, suitable for a Lady's chamber, rather convenient than Remarkable for any outward Decorations. I would have it very neat & Respectable as it is for my Aunt, widow of my late Uncle, with whom I now Reside, & a Lady for whom I have the highest affection & Esteem.

Under date of Dec. 15, 1767, Hancock writes to George Haley thus :—

I am sorry to say that I think too great encouragement is given by your Gentn Merch'ts to persons here of no capital. I am quite confident finally you must be great losers. One gentn who has lately had an extensive credit from you has been a great hurt to trade here. Such credits, not only hurt your best friends here, but finally yourselves. I just hint this. You know who I mean, I believe Mr. Thomas Gray has lately been especial with you, on this subject, that I need say no more, only that if such persons are put

on a footing with men of Capital, it is not worth my while to be concerned in trade. You will please to excuse my mentioning this much.

He sends in some orders as follows :—

100 squares of best London glass 18 by 11½ for the use of my own House w<sup>ch</sup>, I pray may be the very best.

It is apparent by Mr. Hancock's letters, as well as by the proceedings of the Boston town-meetings, that the restraint which the people had voluntarily imposed upon themselves in regard to superfluities was thrown off after the repeal of the Stamp Act. They evidently thought that all things were to be as they were before the beginning of Stamp-act agitation. But they soon saw their mistake. In the town-meeting of Dec. 22, 1767, the question was freely discussed, and instructions were given their representatives in General Court. "It is with concern," say the committee, "we are obliged to say, that under all this difficulty our private debts to the British merchants have been increasing; and our importations even of superfluities, as well as other articles, have been so much beyond the bounds of prudence, that our utmost efforts, it is to be feared, will not save us from impending ruin. We warmly recommend to you, gentlemen, to exert yourselves in promoting every prudent measure which may be proposed to put a stop to that profusion of luxury, so threatening to the country, to encourage a spirit of industry and frugality among the people, and to establish manufactures in the Province." The instructions also urged upon the attention of the representatives the necessity of restraining the excessive use and consumption of spirituous liquors among the people, as destructive to the morals as well as the health and substance of the people.

John Hancock was one of the town's representatives to receive and apply these instructions. It is at this point that he has been charged with inconsistency. But we must bear in mind that several months elapsed between ordering wines from Madeira for his own table and the arrival of the ship which brought the goods, and during this time the people have reached the conclusion above stated. Again, it should be remembered that John Hancock was the most wealthy man in the Province; and then, as now, what was regarded as great deprivation on the part of the wealthy was rated as luxury by those who were in more limited circumstances.

John Hancock had *everything* to lose and nothing to gain. During all these years of agitation, political honors could not have tempted him; for there was no prospect of anything more for him at the hands of his friends than he was freely enjoying. On the contrary, some of his associate agitators had everything to gain, and nothing to lose.

## CHAPTER XV

UNANIMOUS ELECTION TO THE GENERAL COURT. HANCOCK AND HALEY EXCHANGE PRESENTS. TOWN-MEETING ADJOURNED TO SOUTH MEETING HOUSE. TROOPS ARRIVE IN BOSTON TO COMPEL SUBMISSION. HANCOCK DENIES A BOLD ACCUSATION. NEW AGREEMENTS IN REGARD TO TRADE. GENERAL COURT REMOVED TO CAMBRIDGE. HANCOCK VINDICATES HIMSELF.

THE year 1768 opens with but very slight prospects of revival of trade, and Hancock is greatly annoyed. He is too much engaged in public affairs to allow his private business to depress him. With others, he takes every step possible to suppress any movements tending to deprive the people of their just privileges. When depositions, ordered by the governor in regard to a search for smuggled goods, were taken, to be sent to England, without any record of them being made at home, Mr. Hancock and others called a town-meeting, and had the matter investigated. His services as one of the town's representatives in the General Court had been so satisfactory that in the spring of 1767 he was re-elected. This time he received the entire vote, 618, while Samuel Adams received 574, Hon. Thomas Cushing had 557, and Hon. James Otis 575. The four constituted a strong force in favor of the colonies.

Hancock's letter of April 13, 1768, expresses the sentiment of the merchants at that time.

It is to William Reeves, Mercht., Bristol:—

Our trade is under such Embarrassments & Impositions that we have come to a Resolution not to Import any more goods for some time unless we are Relieved & these Acts Repealed. We must inevitably be ruined. Our trade is not worth a man's pursuit; pray appear for us, for sure I am, can our trade be free & we at liberty to prosecute our Business as heretofore, it will redound much to the advantage of Great Britain, for my own part it is not worth my attentions to procure trade at present & if not altered I must decline it.

This renewed resolution to suspend importation was occasioned by the passage of the Revenue Acts of 1767. These required new movements on the part of the patriots. The popular leaders, among whom John Hancock was prominent, profiting by past experiences, strove to prevent excesses, and labored to advance their cause through the growth of an intelligent public opinion. They were vigilant and active in preventing overt acts when the newly created Board of Commissioners of Customs appeared in Boston.

They had no sympathy with mobs and riots, but acted not only in a spirit of fidelity to liberty, but also endeavored to promote law and order. Their movements were indorsed throughout the colonies, whence came in this extremity the message :—

“The liberties of a common country are again in danger, kindle the sacred flame that shall warm and illuminate the continent.”

It was because of the part taken by the patriot leaders that Boston was said by the Loyalists to be under the rule of a trained mob, of which James Otis and Samuel Adams were the two consuls, Joseph Warren one of the chiefs, and John Hancock, having great wealth and social and commercial influence, which he brought to bear upon their desired ends.

A century's changes cannot blind us to the fact that

there was not unanimity among the patriots, as to the best manner of procedure in opposing the Revenue Acts ; but we must infer that these men in private council made plans that controlled the clubs, and that they had to do with government, they controlled the town-meetings ; and the town-meetings controlled the legislature, and these controlled the Province.

Thus John Hancock's declaration to abandon trade worked itself out to a practical conclusion.

In the same letter to William Reeves, he notes the arrival of a " Peacock & Hen & two hampers of Beer," gifts from Mr. Haley. He later adds that "the Damask & Cabinet have arrived." These gifts and purchases added materially to the good appearance and comfort of the Hancock home on Beacon Hill. In the same freight he sends by Captain Scott to Mr. Haley "a view of this town of Boston taken from our Castle, of which I beg your acceptance if agreeable to you."

His aunt's watch failed to keep good time ; and he sends it by Captain Scott to England, to be cleaned and regulated. On April 16, 1768, Hancock directs Haley to honor a draft in favor of Nicholas Bowes of £200, and one of £175. This Bowes is another of the cousins from Bedford, who seems to be having kind attentions from the merchant. On May 18 he sends to Haley for "a right good bell of seven hundred weight for a church, & pray let it be one of the best sort. Its cost charge to my acct." It seems that Hancock is doing all in his power to have the towns well equipped with bells to swell the sounds of joy for liberty, already in the air. The merchant, not to be outdone in complimentary gifts, sent to Mr. Haley, in May, a huge turtle as a specimen of the animal production of the Province. A dressing-

table soon follows from the London agent. Of this Hancock notes, "It is very neat, and you have my warmest thanks for it."

Hancock, who is still one of the selectmen, has enough to occupy him in the discharge of ordinary public duties; but a new trouble arises. The frigate Romney, of fifty guns, arrived from Halifax. The merchants believed it was there to enforce revenue laws. While this was agitating the minds of the people, Hancock's ship Liberty arrived, with a cargo of wine from Madeira, including the order of seven months ago for that extra quality for the Hancock house, and also a subsequent order. When lying at Hancock's wharf, on June 10, the tide-waiter, Thomas Kirk, went on board, and was followed by Captain James Marshall, who sailed for Hancock, with other of the friends and employees of the house. They confined Kirk below, until the wine was taken out, and no entry made of it at the custom-house or naval office. An entry was made the next morning, but was not credited by the officials, and it was resolved to seize the sloop. This was done amid much excitement, and she was removed to within range of the guns of the Romney. A mob assembled, and there was much destruction of property. The collector's boat was dragged to the Common and burned. But the saddest of all was the death of Captain Marshall, occasioned, no doubt, by the excitement of the seizure.

This was extremely trying to Hancock. The property was for him and the treasurer, and this trouble had seemed to be in their interest. Whether they ever enjoyed that wine which they had anticipated for months his letters do not tell, and the legal proceedings did not reveal the secret. It may have gone to excite the brains

of the angry mob, or been poured into the harbor. Hutchinson, an avowed enemy to Hancock, wrote that it was carted off in the night.

The selectmen called a town-meeting at once, and on June 14 there was such a crowd at Faneuil Hall that the meeting adjourned to the South Meeting House. A committee of twenty-one was chosen to wait on his excellency to request him to order the removal of the Romney. A sub-committee of three, one being John Hancock, went to see when the governor would be ready to hear them; but, being at his country-seat, the meeting adjourned to give the committee time. They made the journey to Jamaica Plain in eleven chaises, and were politely received.

The General Court, of which Hancock was a representative, was then in session; but it could conduct no business to the satisfaction of the governor, Francis Bernard. He ordered the recalling of circular notices issued by the General Court of the previous year, providing for a convention of delegates to consider what should be done for the safety of the colonies. The people had taken the government into their own hands, and he pro-rogued the court. It was while in this state of excitement that John Hancock retired to his office, and wrote to "George Haley, Esq." :—



THE PROVINCE HOUSE.

Under the present Burthen on trade no goods will be imported, for people here are determined to be more frugal. I am heartily sorry for the appearance of things. we have been grossly mis-represented. I wish matters were properly understood on your side & a candid attention given to them. I am sure this people would stand in a quite different light for I may say that we are as loyal as any in the King's Domain. We have now two Regiments, part of a third & a train of Artillery in this town ordered here, it is said, in consequence of advice recd. in England from hence, that there was a necessity for them. Such Representation must be made by those who are inimical to us & wish to see us in confusion. The Report of the Troops coming here alarmed the people much & more especially as we were patiently waiting & in hopes of soon finding the good effects of our petition to his majesty, but unused as we are to troops & notwithstanding the apprehensions of people & such a number of troops in this Town, the people are quiet and peaceable and not the least Disturbance has taken place.

It is a great grief to this people that they are Deprived of the Benefits of a General Assembly, more especially at this time, when there is need of the wisdom of the whole Province to conduct our Public affairs. Under these circumstances a large number of towns appointed severally their committees to meet & consult & advise to the most prudent measures that might be taken at this time of General Distress & accordingly they met & after many consultations & advisings to that which they judged would most promote the good of the whole, they Retired. A state of the whole is laid before the Public & I am confident the Convention of these Committees had a happy Effect, to quiet the minds of the people, but notwithstanding the good intentions of these Committees I dare say they will be much misrepresented. All I can say is that everything here has been conducted with the greatest order, on the part of the people, and I can't but hope that when things are really Known in England, we shall be relieved. I pray & I doubt not of Your Influence for us, and I wish soon to hear some good acct. from England. I begin now to look for Capt. White, but under the present circumstances our navigation & Trade must fail. The people are determined to stop Importing English goods, for really trade is so embarrassed & our Burthens so great that it is not worth a man's pursuit. I know not what to do with the Lydia, but that she return to Boston, in which case you will please to let her be Balasted with coals. I hope Capt. Folger is with you by this. If things do not

soon take a more favorable Turn I am determined to Contract my Business & sell my Navigation for I cannot carry on Business under the present circumstances of trade.

The convention referred to by Hancock was held in Faneuil Hall on Sept. 22, called by a committee acting for the town of Boston, of which John Hancock was one. The governor warned and threatened them, but they continued in session until the 29th.

The troops referred to by Hancock in the above letters were ordered to Boston at an interesting period of the American struggle. The movement against the Stamp Act, commendable as it was in the main, had phases that were much regretted by the patriots. Hancock, we have seen in his correspondence, positively declared himself against them, and against all riots, which, though common in England, were in violation of that reverence for law thoroughly ingrained in the American character.

Though Governor Bernard had long regarded a military force necessary to sustain the new measures, he did not make a requisition for it. He expected the Government would send troops to Boston in the time of the Stamp Act, and anticipated trouble on their arrival. But no troops were ordered to the port at that time.

But at length the positive acts of the patriots supplied zealous Loyalists with ample material to pervert into fresh arguments for the necessity of troops to keep the people in order. It was promptly seized upon. The commissioners described the Boston affairs as the opening of a rebellion that had begun its course over the continent. They not only sent to England, but to General Gage, then commander-in-chief, whose head-quar-

ters were at New York, requesting troops, and to Commodore Hood at Halifax, asking for more ships.

General Gage was surprised at not receiving a request from the governor, but at once tendered Governor Bernard, at Boston, all the forces that he might need to preserve the public peace. But the governor said he did not want troops to quell a riot, but regarded them essential to the good of his country. He there showed the folly of trying to serve two masters.

The ships were sent by Commodore Hood, and moored near Castle William; but the governor was disappointed when he learned that his movements had only resulted in putting the troops in readiness to proceed to Boston on his requisition, which he did not give, but wrote, "The crisis awaits the arrival of the troops, and I now learn they are not coming."

He laid the offer of the commanding general before the Council, when it was seen that the members were unanimously against having troops sent to the port. In his despair Governor Bernard wrote to Lord Barrington that he could "no longer depend upon the Council for the support of the small remains of royal and parliamentary power now left, the whole of which had been gradually impeached, arraigned, and condemned under his eye." He also declared that "Boston had been left under a trained mob from Aug. 14, 1765, to this present July 23, 1768."

At length the die as to Massachusetts and Boston had been cast in the British Cabinet. It was decided to place a military force at the command of the governor; and General Gage at New York was notified to place troops at Castle William, and to station a detachment in Boston, and to keep a naval force in the harbor.

The governor claimed to be ignorant of this action, but did mention to one of the Council that he had a private notice that troops were ordered to Boston. This was enough to excite the people, who were at once notified of it, and petitioned Hancock and other selectmen to call a meeting. It was held on the following Monday; "thus openly and before all men, not covertly like a body of conspirators, the leading men of Boston prepared for the inevitable."

At length two regiments were brought to Boston by fifteen British men-of-war. It was on Sept. 29 that they took a well-chosen fighting-position around the north end of the quiet but glorious town.

The scene in the harbor on that first night was grand; and despite the forebodings of evil, many Boston men put out in their boats from their wharves to get a near view of the ships, while the many in their homes and sightly places witnessed the brilliant display of rockets shot off from the decks.

The landing of the troops was an occasion dreaded by both parties. But there was no hostile preparation on the part of the patriots; and the governor having retired to Jamaica Plain, there were no cordial executive greetings prepared. The preparation on the part of the king's army was of a most decided warlike nature. Sixteen rounds of powder and ball were served out to the troops when they entered the boats and made their way to Long Wharf. Lieutenant-Colonel Dalrymple, the commander of the land force, had privately made a visit to the town, and learned that the situation was different from what he had expected. The Fourteenth Regiment, under the colonel, landed, and having formed, marched, with drums beating, fifes playing, and colors flying, up

King Street (now State Street), to the Town House, where it halted until joined by the Twenty-ninth, when they marched to the Common. They were later joined by the Fifty-ninth Regiment and a train of artillery with two field-pieces.

It is difficult to imagine the feelings of the people when these troops were landed. It is no wonder they were received as unwelcome intruders, and the selectmen absolutely refused to grant them quarters. Although Boston Common was a cow-pasture, the people resented the use of it for the camp of one of these regiments.

The public indignation was at its height when Faneuil Hall was taken as quarters for one of the regiments, and no better feelings were engendered when Governor Bernard ordered the State House in King Street to be opened for their reception.

While the town was in this state of excitement, an attempt was made to injure the reputation of Hancock. He was on the Board of Selectmen who objected to the quartering of troops in the public buildings. He was a representative in the General Court, and in May previous had been chosen a member of His Majesty's Council, though negatived by Governor Bernard. While thus enjoying the confidence of the people, he was charged as endeavoring to secure from General Gage the contract to supply these unwelcome troops. Having learned from the Letter-book that Hancock had in former years corresponded with Colonel Dalrymple in regard to the supplies for the garrisons at Nova Scotia, which he was still supplying, it is not difficult to see how such a report was put in circulation by the Tory element of the Province. But Hancock's letter of Nov. 12 settles the matter:—

MESSRS. EDES & GILL:—

I observe in your last paper a piece signed Veritas, the writer of which says he had it from good authority, that a letter under my hand was published in a coffee-house at New York, requesting His Excellency Gen. Gage that I might supply the troops then expected, and which have arrived in this town. If such a letter has been produced there, or anywhere else, I declare it to be a forgery; for I have never made application to any for the supply of said troops, nor did I ever desire any person to do it for me. The person who produced the letter could have no other design but to injure my reputation, and abuse the gentlemen of New York. I therefore desire you would give this a place in your next, in which you will oblige

Your humble servant,

JOHN HANCOCK.

BOSTON, Nov. 12, 1768.

Under date of Aug. 24, 1768, Hancock writes a letter to George Haley in which he says,—

Our trade is so burthened & our difficulties increasing so fast, that upon a meeting of our merch<sup>ts</sup> it was thought prudent to stop the Importation of Goods, at least for one year, & this Resolution was generally adopted, that there will, of course, be no freights in the Spring, with respect to the Ship, I must refer it to you, if you could help me with a little freight directly back to Boston, I should be glad, or if a prospect of any by waiting I would have her kept, but if you have no prospect of giving her a freight, I think it would be best to send the Ship back as soon as possible, as she will lay at a much easier expence here than in London.

Hancock returns one of the compliments of Mr. Haley by sending “Two wild Geese of which I ask your acceptance.”

On Nov. 16 Mr. Hancock writes to Thomas Pow-nall:—

I have now only time to inclose you my Bill on George Haley Esq. Mercht in London of this Date, No. 90, for three thousand pounds sterlg. in part of the monies left by you in the hands of my late Uncle for which I am accountable to you, & when paid you will please to credit my acc<sup>t</sup> there for By Capt. Daverson who will sail

in a week I shall Transmitt you your whole acc<sup>t</sup> & send you an order for the full Ballance of that acc<sup>t</sup> when you will please to give up the Receipts my late Uncle gave you for the monies left in his hands.

My Aunt joins me in best compliments to you & I am with much esteem Sir,

Your most obed<sup>t</sup> humble servt.

HIS EXCELLENCY THOMAS POWNALL ESQ.

Hancock's recorded communications for the winter are but lamentations of the same nature,—words, perhaps, unconsciously penned from the burden of his own personal trials, as well as public concerns. The king's ships were in the bay, and his troops were in possession of the town; and the selectmen needed to be on the alert to protect the interests of the citizens. The town being considered in control of the army, the detested commissioners of customs returned, and the Romney again appeared in the bay. The case of the sloop Liberty was brought up, and Hancock was arrested. He employed John Adams as his counsel. The merchant had the sympathy of the patriotic people, and was re-elected as selectman in March, 1769. The legal proceedings against him increased his popularity; and in May he was re-elected a representative to the General Court, receiving the highest number of votes, even two more than Samuel Adams. On April 13, 1769, Hancock writes to Haley & Hopkins:—

We are in daily expectation of hearing from London the result of Petitions on our affairs. We have been basely misrepresented & can't but think they will be convinced of it & finally matters settled to the satisfaction of all.

The sincere desire on the part of the merchant doubtless gave rise to his expressed hopes, which must have been without any prospects to warrant them. Early in

May the town indorsed the proceedings of the merchants respecting the non-importation agreement, and recommended to the inhabitants not to purchase any goods of persons who had imported in vessels, lately arrived from Great Britain, not allowed by the agreement. When we consider that no man in the colony had so much at stake as Hancock, we almost wonder that his letters do not give some evidence of his relenting ; but nothing of the kind appears. He labored assiduously to have Governor Bernard remove the troops from the town. At the session of the General Court, convened on the last Wednesday of May, nothing could be accomplished. There was a demand upon the Province for funds to pay for quartering the troops in Boston. The spirit of Hancock and his associate representatives from Boston was never more fully aroused.<sup>1</sup> To be asked to tax themselves to pay for an army which had destroyed their trade was too much. The General Court would not proceed to business while the troops were in the town ; and the governor, to get around the objections of the court, adjourned it to Cambridge. Of this John Hancock writes on July 11 to his London agents :—

GENTN: Our General Assembly being adjourned out of town, my attendance on which engages all my time, that I can only say I am loading my Brig Lydia, Capt. Hood. I hope she will sail in ten days & as our assembly will rise in a few days, I shall by my Brig, write you fully to which beg leave to refer you.

On Sept. 6, 1769, he writes to Haley & Hopkins, concluding thus :—

<sup>1</sup> It was when this excitement was at its height that James Otis, that brilliant lawyer and patriot, friend of John Hancock, was assaulted by John Robinson, one of the commissioners of the customs, and was so badly injured that he disappeared from public life, and died at Andover in 1783.

The merchants of this town having come into a new agreement not to suffer any freight to be taken on board their vessels, I beg you would note the same, & prevent any of it except Coals, Hemp, Duck & Grindstones being put on board any of my vessels. You will please to inform my ship masters that they may conform themselves accordingly.

On Nov. 4 he adds :—

If the Revenue Acts are Repealed, I am hopeful you will be able to give Scott some freight.

He orders of Haley & Hopkins “50 barrels of very best pistol powder.” Hancock was now placed in a most trying position. As a citizen, patriot, and town officer, he was doing all in his power to bring about desired ends by preventing importation. As a merchant, he was obliged to see these acts destroy what little business he had left, and he was bringing trouble upon his foreign agents and fast friends.

The embarrassment of John Hancock, when it came to a practical application of the non-importation agreement, can best be realized by the following letters.

Under the same date to Haley & Hopkins Mr. Hancock writes :—

I cannot now make a particular reply to your letter as I am wholly engaged in the accommodation of the late Importations, made here by Several Persons of this Town, which circumstances taking place at the only important moment that it should have been avoided, I must say Reflects great on the Importers. After many considerations of the Trade on this subject, the final Resolution was that nothing less would atone and be satisfactory than the Refusing the goods to London. The owners consented & this ship Scott has all the goods on board & I wish them a safe Landing in London. It gives me great uneasiness on your acct. that almost the whole of the goods that have arrived have been shipped by you and the trade were determined to pass Resolves which I was apprehensive would operate to your Disadvantage. I however was influential in abating the Resentment & actually made offer of the crates to carry

home what goods Scott could not take & in this I really judged I was most essentially promoting your interests. But Scott takes the whole of the goods, so theres an end of it. However it is a most unlucky thing you shipped those goods out. Only consider what a Difference it makes as to the trade & conditions of Individuals. You build some up upon the fall & Ruin of others. We ought also to be on a footing & hope soon to see an Establishment of our trade on a solid foundation. With respect to this ship of mine, to accommodate the matter of Importation, I offered my ship, freight free, as she brought some of the goods you shipt the most from friendship to you & my own honor, I was induced to make the offer. I only mention this. I don't mean to desire anything contrary to your transactions, but if you should think well of it, as in the consequence, you will be more benefited than myself. As the offer I made established you whether it would not be reasonable that the expense be borne between us. These Returned goods are regularly cleared our Custom House & I can't think there can be the Least Difficulty in entering the ship in London. Should any arise, Trusting your Interposition to accommodate matters.

The massacre of March 5, 1770, resulted in the removal of the troops from Boston, Samuel Adams, with John Hancock and others of a committee, persisting until the desired removal was secured. These troops already described were ever after called by Lord North "Sam Adams's Two Regiments." Governor Bernard having been recalled by the king, Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson was in power. But a few days later the General Court assembled at Cambridge. The demands upon John Hancock were so great that for the first time he delegated his correspondence to another :—

June 13, 1770.

GENTN: The removal of the General Court to Cambridge obliges Mr. Hancock to be often there. He has directed me in his absence to acquaint you that he has chartered the ship Pratt for a voyage to South Carolina.

WM. PALFREY.<sup>1</sup>

To HALEY & HOPKINS.

<sup>1</sup> Probably son of Col. William Palfrey, and Susanna, daughter of Paix Cazneau.

On June 29, 1770, Hancock addresses Harrison & Ansley thus :—

I hope e'er long matters will be so settled as that trade may revive, do convince your noble gentlemen at Helm of the ill consequences of a perseverance in their present measures, we are a people worth saving & deserving their notice and indulgence, as all we can possibly obtain centres on your side. We sincerely feel the grievance and are seeking redress. We can't always submit. It is a true saying "Oppression will make a wise man mad." Do stir for us. I know your disposition and that you will help us all you can. I have to express my grateful acknowledgements to your Mr. John Harrison for his very genteel present of the table cloth & napkins, which Mr. G. H. delivered me. They are excessive genteel and by far the best in the Country. I wish I may have it in my power to retaliate. I must wait long before I can hope a manufacture of this country to return, but you must take the will for the deed. My Aunt joins me in her Compliments to you & connection particularly to the Lady of Mr. G. H. with every wish in her favor. I am with respect,

Gentn,

Your assured friend &

Obligd. humble servt.

On the same date he acknowledges a gift of cheese and beer, "which has come to hand in good order." On the same date to Haley & Hopkins he says, "Inclosed you have a small mem<sup>o</sup> of allowed articles which you will please to send by the return of the Lydia." On Nov. 5 he writes to Haley & Hopkins, and speaks of having been absent six weeks, and neglected correspondence, which he resumes. On Nov. 27 he sends to Haley & Hopkins for "1 hogsld Loaf sugar, single refined; 1 Bbl. double refined," for his own use. He has had a letter from George Haley in regard to the refusal of the cargo, which was returned with a long explanation and apology. He replies to it on Dec. 27, 1770, thus :—

I shall not dwell on the subject which particularly occasioned your private letter to me. Only say, what I can strictly and solemnly declare that in the whole of my conduct during the late struggle here I was actuated solely by a principle of effecting the good of my Country, and sincerely thought a strenuous perseverance in the non-importation would have that effect, and indeed it is still my opinion, had there been a general attention to that object, it would have worked out at least some good for us; but as things have turned out, I hope all will be for the best, and I am disposed to acquiesce and heartily wish a perfect Harmony and reconciliation may take place. I am much obliged to you for your very generous offers in regard to the freight of the returned goods by Scott, and upon mature consideration I most desire you will think no more of it. I believe upon my own plan I should bear it, and I am willing to bear it, especially as my sole motive was the prospect of happy consequence resulting from it to my town and Country; however, sir, I acknowledge my great obligation to you in that Instance, as also for your strict attention to my interests in all my concerns, and hope our correspondence may continue for a long time to mutual satisfaction. In the matter of non-importation I individually have been most fully, freely and cruelly used, but the particulars I forbear troubling you with in a letter, but refer you to Mr. William Palfry, who is a passenger in my Brig and on whose account I shall trouble your house with a Line; he can acquaint you with everything passing here. I must also beg Your pardon that I, in my hurry, omitted to acquaint you that I had received the first dividend, etc.

My Aunt desires to join me in our Sincere respects to good Mrs. Haley, the Young Ladies, and with my best wishes for their and Your health and Happiness,

Believing me to be Dear Sir,

Your, obliged and faithful humble servt.

Foreign trade was not entirely abandoned, as appears by a letter of Dec. 27, 1770, to Haley & Hopkins, as follows:—

GENTN: Since my last I am favored with yours by Dixey of 8th of October, who arrived here on Christmas day. Am glad to find you had disposed of all my Oyl & Pottashes, with regard to the whalebone, you will please to exercise your own judgment as to the

sale, in which at all times I am disposed to acquiesce, being fully convinced of your attention to my interests. . . .

I fear you will think me rather guilty of Intrusion with my navigation, having so often occasion to request your favour with respect to freight for my vessels. In the case of the Taoli, beg to say that if without interfering with your more particular connections, you could give the Taoli a freight back to Boston, I should take it a singular favour, but upon the whole, if a freight back cannot be had & Brig will not fetch £800 sterling or more, I must ask the favr. of you to send her to Lisbon for a load of salt to bring to Boston, which you will please to conduct for me. I give Capt. Hall orders accordingly, and in case of a war, please to Insure £800 on the Brig the whole voyage, as also the amount of the Salt Cargo, and if a war, please to keep my navigation fully insured, Goods and freight; this you will please to note. Since my last I have disposed of my ship John & her West India cargo, having met with an offer that pleased me. I have a new ship of 200 tons built in this town which I shall fix in her room & shall Despatch her to you the first of the Spring. In her Mr. Gilbert Harrison returns to England.

He sends an order for goods for a shop to be set up. He is apparently actively engaged through the spring months of 1771, and interests himself in behalf of several men who wish to set up business in shops. On Oct. 11, 1771, he says in a letter to his agents at London: "I have not been able to attend to any business since April last." He complains of poor trade, and declares that he will not import to a town so stocked that things are sold many times under the cost. In closing he says:—

I am not without a prospect of seeing you & my friends in London, with the Leave of Indulgent Providence, by the middle of June next, having nearly Determined with Mr. Bowes & your G. H.'s friend Brattle to embark on board Scott, on his return next spring.

Hancock had set up his brother Ebenezer in business; but he had met the fate of many others, and failed.

Hancock, however, determines to venture again. He says :—

These goods are for my brother, whom I am determined to establish in Business again in hopes he may better succeed; & over whom I shall be careful to keep a watchful eye.

It is gratifying to note this kindly interest which John Hancock manifested in the business career of his only brother, Ebenezer. It lasted through the life of the more wealthy merchant. We find that the Continental Congress, of which John Hancock was president, on June 12, 1776, made choice of Ebenezer Hancock as deputy paymaster-general for the eastern department, and his headquarters were in Boston.

## CHAPTER XVI

HANCOCK RECOVERS FROM SEVERE ILLNESS. GIFTS TO BRATTLE-STREET CHURCH. HANCOCK MEMORIALS IN COUNTRY TOWNS. GIFT OF A FIRE-ENGINE TO BOSTON. JOHN HANCOCK COMMISSIONED A COLONEL OF CADETS. JOURNEY TO CONNECTICUT. BOSTON TEA-PARTY. HANCOCK SENDS WILLIAM PALFREY TO CARRY NEWS OF DESTRUCTION OF TEA TO PHILADELPHIA.

In a letter of Nov. 14, 1771, we learn why Mr. Hancock has relaxed in business activity. It is to Haley & Hopkins :—

"I readily confess there needs an apology to be made to you for my want of Punctuality in Replying to your Repeated Esteem'd favrs. which I have Rec'd in the course of the Summer past, but when I tell you that since last April, I have not had a real well day till within ten days & my Indisposition such as to incapacitate me for attention to Business, I know you will readily excuse me & now thro' the indulgence of a kind Providence I am so surprisingly Recover'd that I have plunged myself in the Business of Life again & if my health continues shall be as punctual as possible in my replies to your Letters & all my other Concerns with You."

Thomas Hutchinson has been commissioned as chief executive, and John Hancock is still a representative from Boston in the General Court. Hancock writes :—

BOSTON, July 7, 1772.

GENTN: Your favr by Lydia I duly recd. & note the Contents. I have been for some time past and still am so engaged in our General Assembly that I cannot now particularly Reply to your last favr. but shall by next; I have only time to Inclose you Invo &

Bill Ladg. of Tar & Staves by the Lydia, Captain Hall, to your address, which you will please to dispose of & credit me the proceeds. You have Inclosed a Naval Store Bill. This is a poor Cargo, but what little oyl has been at market has been held so high say £32. sterl<sup>g</sup>, that I dar'd not to purchase, but thought it most Eligible to wait the Event of the fall Fishing, tho indeed there has been but a Trifle at market. I have delivered to Capt. Hall the Size of Glass with directions for a New Meeting house Building in this town. I have directed Capt. Hall to deliver to you & I am to desire You will please to order it of the best quality, well packed & exactly conformable to the pattern & directed to ship to me by Scott or one of my vessels, Boxes marked I H K, charged to my accott, with separate Invoice

Your very humble servt,

MESSRS. HALEY & HOPKINS.

The order of glass was for the Brattle-street Church, to which Hancock was giving liberally, the society being that with which Madam Hancock and her family worshipped. The corner-stone had already been laid, and the name of Hon. John Hancock had been chiselled on it. This was evidently in recognition of his gift, the largest contributed. It amounted to £1,000. In the gift he reserved the right to build a mahogany pulpit with its full furniture, a mahogany deacons' seat, and communion-table, and to provide for the accommodation of the poor widows and others belonging to the society "who are reputable persons and unable to furnish themselves with seats." This furniture had been in use but a few months when the British occupied the new meeting-house for barracks. John Hancock is also pleasantly remembered to this day by a gift of comparative insignificance to the town of Lunenburg. In the pulpit Bible of a church now extinct is read: "The gift of the Hon. John Hancock, Esq., of Boston. To the Church and Congregation in Lunenburg. July 26th, Anno Domini, 1772." It is interesting to note that this gift

was made in the same month with that to the Brattle-street Church.

In the adjoining town of Shirley there is a similar treasure, used still in the pulpit of the Unitarian Church, and held as a memorial of Madam Lydia Hancock, her name being duly inscribed upon it. The occasion of the gift was the opening of the new meeting-house in that town, the wife of Rev. Phineas Whitney, the minister, being Lydia Bowes of Bedford, niece and namesake of Madam Lydia (Henchman) Hancock. What an inspiration it must have been to those sturdy people at the dedication service to have the Hancock coach roll up to the door, and the honored widow conducted into their presence, followed by a colored slave, who bore the great Bible for the new pulpit! What wonder that the first son of the parsonage should be named in honor of the lamented merchant of Boston, to whose honor Thomas Whitney and his descendants have reflected much credit.

Hancock's popularity was recognized in the remotest settlements of New England. A section in Berkshire County, Mass., first called Jericho, from the natural walls on either side, was named Hancock when incorporated in 1776, at the time of John Hancock's presidency of the Continental Congress.

A settlement in southern New Hampshire, begun about the same time, of which John Hancock was one of the proprietors, was incorporated as Hancock in 1779.

A section of Addison County, Vt., settled in 1778, was given the name of Hancock.

Another way in which John Hancock manifested his regard for the town of Boston during the year 1772 was by the gift of a fire-engine, which he imported for that



HOME OF ISAAC ROYALL, A LOYALIST, MEDFORD.

"A kind of old Hobgoblin Hall, now somewhat fallen to decay.



purpose. This was ordered to be kept near Hancock's wharf.

A letter of July 7, 1772, affords a hint of the condition of business and of the engagements of Hancock:—

By next oppory, I shall send you accott. of sales of Your Sugar & Beer. I am now prevented & as I have been for some time & still am so engaged in our General Assembly that I must beg you excuse me that I cannot be more particular but by next will be explicit & particularly reply to your favr.

I am sorry to tell you I have no prospect of a sale of Your Linens &c I cannot Get the sterlg cost of these & they will not raise the money unless sold at auction w<sup>ch</sup> must be attended with a great loss. The Town is so full of Goods that they are sold to loss, do give me directions what to do with them, Tho I will strive the Fall Season to Dispose of them without Loss — I shall write you fully in a few days.

I am with Esteem Sir

Your very humble servt.

HENRY CRUGER, Esq.

On Nov. 4, 1772, Hancock pauses in his official business long enough to attend to an outgoing vessel. He sends orders as follows:—

You will please send me by Scott for my acct., marked J. H.:  
50 prs. Russia Duck. 20 pcs. Ravens Duck.

15 Tons Best Petersburg Brack Hemp, if low, if not low only half the quantity.

1 Hogsh'd single Refined sugar.

10 Hampers best Bottled porter.

40 half Barrels Powder, pray let it be good.

2 Tons of best Cheshire cheese.

10 Boxes Lemons. 2 Casks of Poland & 10 casks of Common Starch.

To MESSRS. HALEY & HOPKINS:

Goods are at present sold here so excessively low that I do not import any for my own store, but when there is an alteration I shall apply to you. If you please, when you are in cash for me, I desire you would pay Mr. Charles Hurst £323 17s. 4d. I have directed him to apply to you for the same.

On May 17, 1773, Palfrey writes because of the absence of John Hancock.

The letter to Haley & Hopkins shows that Mr. Hancock is still supplying the garrison at Nova Scotia. He has been elected to the command of the Independent Cadets, well known as the governor's guard. The public announcement was as follows :—

“ His Excellency, the Captain-General has been pleased to commissionate John Hancock Esq., to be Captain of the Company of Cadets with the rank of Colonel.”

He enters upon the duties of the office regardless of health, and advertises as follows :—

“ Wanted. Immediately — For His Excellency's Company of Cadets. Two Fifers that understand Playing. Those that are masters of musick, and are inclined to engage with the Company, are desired to apply to Col. John Hancock.”

In Hancock's absence William Palfrey writes :—

BOSTON, 17<sup>th</sup> May, 1773.

GENT.: I wrote you the 5<sup>th</sup> inst pr. Calif acquainting You of Coll<sup>o</sup> Hancock's intention to send Scott out with a load of Naval Stores, with which the Haley is now loaded, and Inclos'd You have Inv<sup>o</sup> & Bill of Lading for 1462 barrell of Tar, also a Naval Store Bill. You will doubtless dispose of this Cargo for Mr. Hancock's best Interest & when sold please to Credit him for the net proceeds.

The Coll<sup>o</sup> has left no directions with me respecting the sale of the Ship, in case a saving price should offer. I therefore beg leave to refer You to his former Letters on that subject by which you will please to govern yourselves. I know he thinks her too large for the Trade, although she has hitherto been pretty successful, this has been greatly owing to Your kindness.

Madam Hancock desires her best compliments to your Ladies & Families, with her sincere wishes for the recovery of Miss Haley's health, in which she is heartily joined by

Gent Your oblig'd & most

Obedt servt W. P.

MESS. HALEY & HOPKINS.

Under the same date, to Harrison & Ansley, Mr. Palfrey writes :—

Collo Hancock has lately been so greatly indisposed that he has not been able to reply to your several favors.

He is now on a journey to Connecticut as well for the recovery of his health as to transact some public business relative to the partition Line between this Province and New York.

I take the Liberty, in his absence, to inclose you a memoranda for a few goods for the mark H. & P., which you will please to compleat & send out by the Return of the Haley. He begs your particular attention to the Quality & price of each article, that in the sale we may be at least upon a footing with our neighbors. We expect Mr. Hancock back in a few days, and if his Health will permit he purposes to write you particularly by the first opportunity. Madam Hancock desires her best respects to your G. H. & Lady & to your Gent'n. respectively. My compliments to your J. H., Mr. Tho. Harrison & Mr. Ansley, Mr. G. H. & Lady & all friends.

I am with great esteem,

Gent'n., your most obed't. serv't.,

W. P.

In December, 1773, Hancock writes to Haley & Hopkins :—

I shall be much obliged to you to send the Bell wrote for by Capt. Scott, as also the Pulpit furniture & curtains, which please to order of the best Silk Crimson Damask. The size of Bell & Dimensions of the Curtains, etc., you have in my letter by Hood.

These were gifts to Brattle-street Church. The bell weighed 3,220 pounds. The motto inscribed upon it is :—

I to the church the living call,  
And to the grave I summon all.

The bell did not reach Boston until September, 1774. The port being then blockaded, Captain Scott was obliged to go into port at Salem, Sept. 20. He also brought a quantity of powder, which Hancock had ordered. This was welcomed by the patriots, for there

had not been a pound to be procured in Boston for many weeks. The bell was rung for the first time Oct. 28, 1774.

On Dec. 21, 1773, he writes to his London agents :—

We have been much agitated in consequence of the arrival of the Tea Ships by the East India Comp., and after every effort was made to induce the consignees to return it from whence it came & all proving ineffectual, in a very few Hours the whole of the Tea on Board Bruce, Coffin & Hall<sup>1</sup> was thrown into the salt water. The particulars I must refer you to Capt. Scott for; indeed I am not acquainted with them myself, so as to give a Detail. Capt. Loring in a Brig with the remainder of the Tea is cast on shore at the back of Cape Codd. Philadelphia & York are Determined the Tea shall not land. I enclose you an extract of a letter I Rec'd. from Phila., by which you will see the spirit of that people. No one circumstance could possibly have taken place more effectively to unite the Colonies than this manouvre of the Tea. It is Universally Resented here & people of all ranks detest the measure. Our papers & Dr. Williamson, who is passenger in Scott, will inform you many circumstances. I Determine if my Oyle gets up tomorrow my Brigt. Lydia shall depart in six days. I shall recommend her to be sold.

The information which Mr. Hancock, in the above letter, says he received from Philadelphia, was doubtless brought by his trusted agent, William Palfrey.

While Hancock is silent at this point, his friend Andrews writes, under Dec. 1 :—

Having just returned from fire club, and am now, in company with the two Miss Masons and Mr. Williams of your place [Philadelphia], at Sam. Eliot's, who have been dining with him at Colo. Hancock's, and acquaints me that Mr. Palfrey sets off Express for New York and Philadelphia at five o'clock to-morrow morning to communicate ye transactions of this town respecting the tea.

<sup>1</sup> The "Tea-ships" were Dartmouth, Eleanor, and Beaver. Francis Rotch owned the Dartmouth, the first to arrive in Boston, with James Hall as captain; James Bruce was captain of the Eleanor, and Hezekiah Coffin of the Beaver. It is probable that William Rotch, brother to Fran-

Of the arrival of the tea-ships he says :—

It has caus'd ye most spirited and firm conduct to be observ'd that ever was known, the regularity and particulars of which proceedings Mr. Palfrey will be able to tell you. The consignees have all taken their residence at the Castle, as they still persist in their refusal to take the tea back. Its not only ye town but the country are unanimous against the landing it, and at the Monday and Tuesday meetings, they attended to the number of some hundreds from all the neighboring towns within a dozen miles,— 'twould puzzle any person to purchase a pair of p—ls in town, as they are all bought up, with a full determination to repell force to force.

The above letter, penned by John Andrews, and before published, shows the quiet and expeditious manner in which John Hancock exerted himself for the public good at this important time. He must have had a deep personal interest in the tea trouble, but is silent upon his private interests ; he puts his strength into the welfare of the public.

As we have no letter of John Hancock's in regard to this, one written by his friend Andrews is inserted :<sup>1</sup>—

However precarious our situation may be, such is the present calm composure of the people that a stranger would hardly think that ten thousand pounds sterling of the East India Company's tea was destroy'd the night, or rather evening before last, yet it is a serious truth ; and if your's, together with ye other Southern provinces, should rest satisfied with this quota being stor'd, poor Boston will feel the whole weight of ministerial vengeance. However it is the opinion of most people that we stand an equal chance now, whether troops are sent in consequence of it or not, whereas, had it been stor'd we should inevitably have had 'em, to enforce the sale of it.

The affair was transacted with the greatest regularity and decis, and John Hancock were owners in part of the other ships, which had taken oil to London, and were chartered to take the tea in returning.

<sup>1</sup> From *Proceedings of Massachusetts Historical Society* of 1864 and 1865.

spatch. Mr. Rotch finding he exposed himself not only to the loss of his ship for ye value of the tea in case he sent her back with it, without a clearance from the custom house, as ye Admiral kept a ship in readiness to make a seizure of it whenever it should sail under those circumstances; therefore declin'd complying with his former promises, and absolutely declar'd his vessel should not carry it, without a proper clearance could be procur'd or he to be indemnified for the value of her,—when a general muster was assembled, from this and all ye neighbouring towns, to the number of five or six thousand, at 10 o'clock Thursday morning in the Old South Meeting house, where they pass'd a unanimous vote that the tea should go out of the harbor that afternoon, and sent a committee with Mr. Rotch to ye custom house to demand a clearance, which the collector told 'em was not in his power to give, without the duties being first paid. They then sent Mr. Rotch to Milton, to ask a pass from ye Governor, who sent for answer, that "consistent with the rules of Government" and his duty to the King he could not grant one without they produc'd "a previous clearance from the office."—By the time he return'd with this message the candles were light in (the) house, and upon reading it, such prodigious shouts were made, that induc'd me, while drinking tea at home, to go out and know the cause of it.

The house was so crowded I could get no farther than ye porch, when I found the moderator was just declaring the meeting to be dissolv'd, which caused another general shout, out doors and in, and three cheers. What with that, and the consequent noise of breaking up of the meeting, you'd thought that the inhabitants of the infernal regions had broke loose. For my part I went contentedly home and finish'd my tea, but was soon inform'd what was going forward; but still not crediting it without ocular demonstration, I went and was satisfied. They muster'd, I'm told, upon Fort Hill, to the number of about two hundred, and proceeded, two by two, to Griffin's wharf, where Hall, Bruce and Coffin lay, each with 114 chests of the ill fated article on board, the two former with only that article, but ye latter arriv'd at ye wharf only ye day before, was freighted with a large quantity of other goods, which they took the greatest care not to injure in the least, and before nine o'clock in ye evening, every chest from on board the three vessels was knocked to pieces and flung over ye' sides. They say the actors were Indians from Narragansett. Whether they were or not, to a transient observer they appear'd as such,

being cloth'd in Blankets with the heads muffled, and copper color'd countenances being each arm'd with a hatchet or axe, and pair pistols, nor was their dialect different from what I conceived these geniusses to speak, as their Jargon was unintelligible to all but themselves. Not the least insult was offer'd to any person, save one Captain Conner, a letter of horses in this place, not many years since remov'd from dear Ireland, who had ript up the lining of his coat and waist coat under the arms, and watching his opportunity had nearly fill'd 'em with tea, but being detected was handled pretty roughly. They not only stripp'd him of his clothes, but gave him a coat of mud, with a severe bruising into the bargain; and nothing but their utter aversion to make any disturbance prevented his being tar'd and feather'd.

On the 19th of December Mr. Andrews writes to his friend at Philadelphia :—

I give you joy of your easy riddance of the baneful herb; being just inform'd by ye arrival of the post that its gone from whence it came. You may bless your stars that you have not a H——n and board of commissioners resident with you. I forgot to acquaint you last evening that Loring in a brig belonging to Clark, one of ye consignees, is on shore at ye back of Cape Cod, drove thither by a storm last Fryday week, who has the last quota of Tea for this place, being 58 chests, which compleats the 400.

There were many poetical effusions occasioned by the tea episode. One that appeared in Thomas's *Spy* is as follows :—

Farewell the tea-board, with its equipage  
Of cups and saucers, cream bucket and sugar-tongs;  
The pretty tea-chest, also, lately stored  
With hyson, congo, and best double fine.  
Full many a joyous moment have I sat by you,  
Hearing the girls tattle, the old maids talk scandal.  
And the spruce coxcomb laugh at may be nothing.  
No more shall I dish out the once loved liquor,  
Though now detestable.  
Because I am taught, and I believe it true,  
Its use will fasten slavish chains upon my country;  
And Liberty's the goddess I would choose  
To reign triumphant in America!

## CHAPTER XVII

WILLIAM PALFREY CONDUCTS HANCOCK'S BUSINESS. JOHN HANCOCK DELIVERS THE MASSACRE ORATION. ARRIVAL AND RECEPTION OF GENERAL GAGE. COLONEL HANCOCK AND THE CADETS. HANCOCK'S COMMISSION REVOKED. LEGISLATURE MEETS AT SALEM. LAST SESSION CALLED BY A GOVERNOR UNDER THE CROWN. PROVINCIAL CONGRESS AT CONCORD AND CAMBRIDGE. BOSTON SCHOOL-BOYS KEEP A SECRET AND SAVE THE CANNON. INDIGNATION AT TREATMENT OF A BILLERICA MAN. GAGE'S ARMY INJURE HANCOCK'S PROPERTY. NOTABLE GATHERING AT LEXINGTON PARSONAGE. BATTLE OF LEXINGTON. FLIGHT FROM GAGE'S ARMY TO BURLINGTON AND BILLERICA.

THE year 1774 opens when John Hancock is suffering from disease, and the public demands so much of his time that his business correspondence is delegated to his friend Palfrey.<sup>1</sup> He writes on Jan. 10, 1774:—

Mr. Hancock intended to have wrote you fully by this opportunity but is prevented by indisposition & is at present confined to his bed. I have therefore to inclose you Invoice & Bill of Lading for Oyle, Tar & Staves on Board the Brig Lydia, Adam Winthrop, master, to your address, which you will please to dispose of & credit him with the net proceeds.

This Brig Mr. Hancock would be glad to sell provided she will fetch £500 stg. If not, you will please to return her as soon as possible with what freight you can procure. If none should offer,

<sup>1</sup> William Palfrey, the friend and confidential clerk to John Hancock, was aid-de-camp to Washington when he was in command of the Continental army at Cambridge, and accompanied the chief to New York after the evacuation.

be kind enough to ship Twenty Tons of good Hemp & Forty chaldrons of Coals, also Fifty pieces of Russia Duck. If his Health will permit he intends to write you himself by a vessell which will sail from hence in a few days.

I am Gent. Your most hble Servt.

W<sup>m</sup>. PALFREY.

MESSRS. HALEY & HOPKINS.

Jan. 26, 1774, was the date of the opening of the session of the General Court of which John Hancock was a member from Boston, having received all but two of 419 votes cast. It was a critical time, and the duties were exhausting ; but Mr. Hancock is found assuming the added responsibility of presiding at the town-meeting, and of delivering the massacre oration of March 5, 1774. His bold utterances at this time gave great offence to the executive, and more especially to the officers of the standing army. A copy of the oration was requested of Mr. Hancock for publication. (See Appendix II.)

There was taken at this time a collection for Mr. Christopher Monk, "a young man now languishing under a wound rec'd in his lungs, by a shot from Preston's Bloody Party of Soldiers on 5<sup>th</sup> March, 1770." This collection amounted to £319. 13. 3. old tenor, and the same was left with the selectmen for the use of the said Monk. Five days later Mr. Hancock was chosen as moderator of a town-meeting, but was too ill to attend ; but he was elected as one of the Board of Selectmen for the year 1774-1775. He was also chosen one of the firewards, but at a later meeting was excused. He was active in the movement at this time for lighting the streets, believing that darkness was favorable to evil doings.

This busy man turns from public affairs to place his well-known signature upon papers relating to his pri-

vate business, as witnesseth the following document, in possession of Mr. John M. Graham of Boston.

W<sup>m</sup> John Lowden Boston March 25. 1774  
*Sir Please to pay to Mr Uriel*  
*May or order One hundred & Eighty pound*  
*Lawfull Money, which sum shall be placed*  
*to the credit of your Acct. When paid with*  
*for your honor &*  
*John Hancock*

On Wednesday, May 10, Mr. Hancock experienced the renewal of the confidence of the voters of the town by a unanimous re-election to the General Court ; his associates being Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, and William Phillips.

It was at an adjourned session of this meeting that the town took action in regard to the " Edict of a British Parliament for Blocking up the Harbor of Boston and annihilating the trade of this town."

John Hancock now sees the ruin which he has so often predicted about to visit the town. But there is a glimmer of hope in the departure of Governor Hutchinson, and the arrival of Governor Gage ; yet it soon goes out in despair.

It was the duty of Colonel Hancock and his company to receive and escort His Majesty's representative to the State House. He landed at Long Wharf on May 19, and received due honor at the hands of Colonel Hancock and the Cadets.

Gage was proclaimed governor amid the acclamations of the people. They all partook of a bountiful entertainment at Faneuil Hall, when the new governor expressed himself as aware of the unwelcome errand he came upon, but said, as he was a servant of the Crown, he was obliged to see the Act put in execution. His words were carefully followed by John Hancock and the leaders in the patriotic movements, who also watched each subsequent act of official authority.

Although the Letter-book affords us no light upon the movements of Hancock at this critical time, the blank pages are forcible reminders of the man too much engrossed to place his thoughts upon paper. No more important subjects ever agitated the minds of the men of Boston than those discussed in John Hancock's counting-room and other patriot headquarters.

We can imagine the indignation of the Cadets when, in August, Governor Gage notified Colonel Hancock by the hand of his secretary, Flucker, that he had no further occasion for his services as the commander.

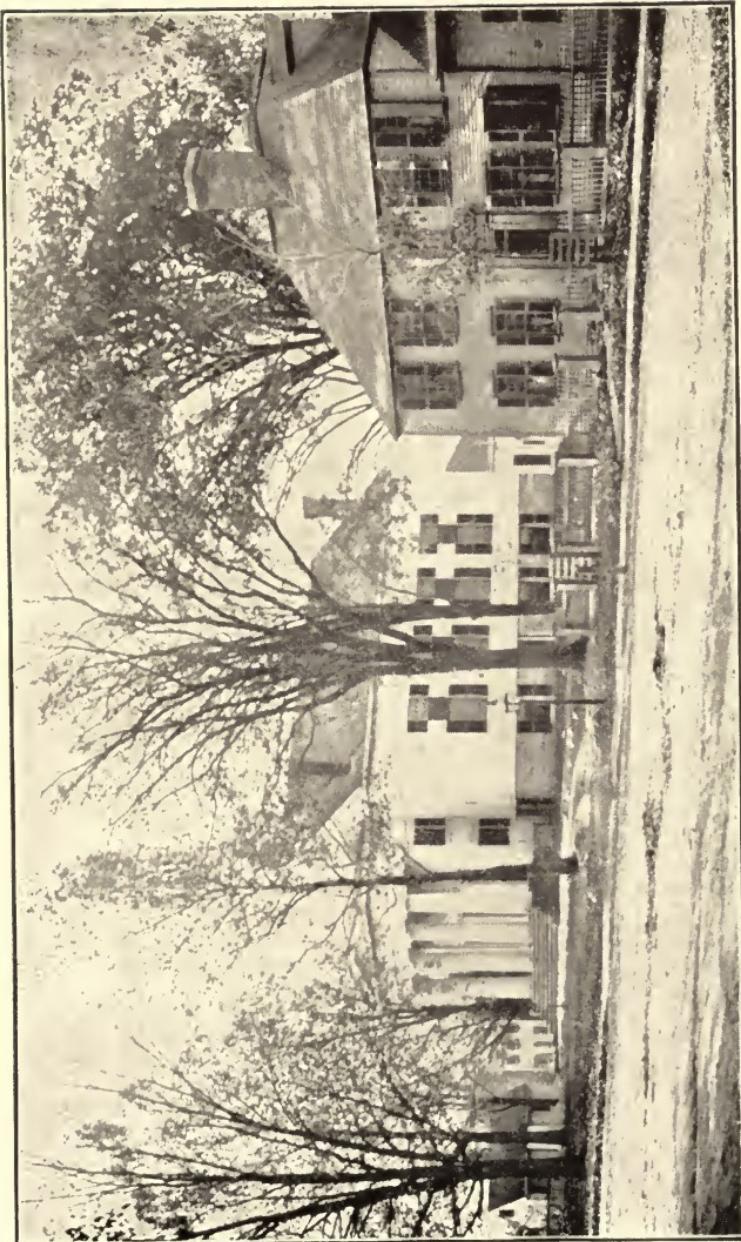
The corps at once disbanded, and sent a committee to the governor with the standard which His Excellency had presented them. Colonel Hancock received a very encouraging message from the disbanded company, to which he replied : "I am ever ready to appear in a public station, when the honor or the interest of the community calls me ; but shall always prefer retirement in a private station to being a tool in the hand of power to oppress my countrymen."

We now follow the footsteps of John Hancock to the Old State House, where the General Court convened on May 25, by virtue of writs issued by Governor Hutchinson.

Governor Gage met the assembly, and informed them that he had "the king's particular commands for holding the General Court at Salem;" accordingly he adjourned the Legislature to Salem, there to meet on Tuesday, the 7th of June. This was because of the enforcement of the Port Bill, which took effect before the Legislature came together again. But Hancock and other representatives had not been idle; and when they reassembled at Salem they made it their first business to protest against this adjournment, and prepared their answer to the governor's speech. This session, noted for lack of harmony, continued until the 17th of June, and was then dissolved by the governor's proclamation, read on the stairs of the Representative Chamber by Secretary Flucker, the door having been closed against him. But this act of His Excellency was not until after the representatives had passed resolutions, appointing John Hancock and others as delegates to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, and made appropriation to defray their expenses.

John Hancock consequently acted in the last legislative assembly regularly convened in Massachusetts under writs issued by a governor appointed by the Crown.

The distress of the summer months was made doubly trying by the fears of the winter on the part of the poor. The merchants were obliged to see their ships idle at the wharf and their warehouses vacant. But Hancock was fully occupied as one of the selectmen in attending the meetings of the Board held from week to week to settle the many new questions arising in the town. He was conspicuous by his absence at the meeting of Aug. 13, called by request of Governor Gage, when His Excellency notified the Board "that he had received from



WRIGHT TAVERN.

OLD PARISH MEETING-HOUSE, CONCORD.

Where Provincial Congress assembled.



England the two Acts of Parliament lately passed in which was inserted a clause forbidding the calling of town-meetings without special license from the governor." But this did not disturb those far-seeing selectmen, who had two town-meetings now alive by adjournment.

Hancock's vigilance, as a selectman, in the public interests, only slackened when he was called to duty as a representative.

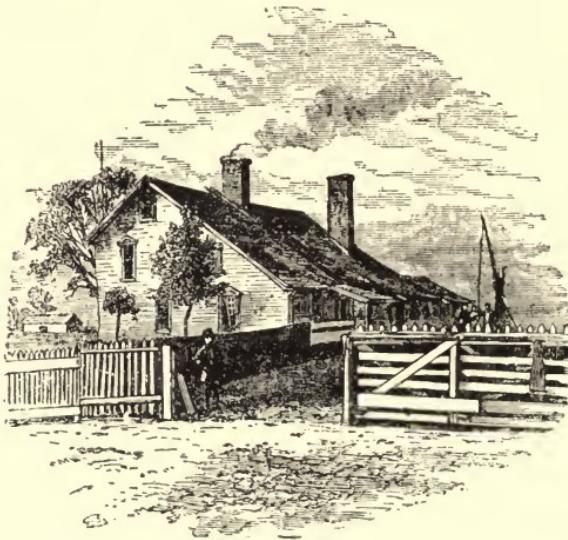
Governor Gage's order for the General Court to convene on the 5th of October, although subsequently countermanded, resulted in an assembly of ninety of the representatives. These resolved themselves into the Provincial Congress, of which John Hancock was made chairman, and Benjamin Lincoln was chosen clerk.

They then adjourned to meet at Concord on the following Tuesday. When reassembled, the chairman and clerk were made president and secretary respectively. A committee was soon appointed to take into consideration the state of the Province, and report. Of this committee John Hancock was chairman ; and when their report was accepted, and sent as a message to the governor, it was attested by John Hancock, the president of the Provincial Congress.

When they assembled, by adjournment, at Cambridge on the 17th inst., Mr. Hancock had the governor's answer to read to the Congress. It was at the third session of this First Provincial Congress, and on Oct. 22, that the question of the annual Thanksgiving was discussed ; and it was decided that the appointment should be made by this body of men, and Thursday, the fifteenth day of December, was selected for the autumnal festival. The proclamation issued was the first on which the "*king*" was not recognized. (See Appendix III.)

Thus they went on step by step until the record of the First Provincial Congress was completed on Dec. 10, 1774.

The interim between this adjournment and the assembling of the Second Congress afforded Mr. Hancock no rest. He appears immediately with the selectmen devising plans for the control of the small-pox, which the army brought to the town.



HUBBARD HOUSE, CONCORD.

(Where John Hancock lived when at Provincial Congress.)

So urgent was this duty that they met on Sunday, and prepared a notice for print in the papers of the following morning, in order that the townspeople might be relieved of their anxiety. But the disease was not easily suppressed; and the selectmen were in session daily, and Hancock is recorded as being in attendance.

During these weeks of anxious care, there were strange scenes in the vicinity of the Hancock mansion; for the king's army was in camp on the Common, and

its movements by day or night were easily detected by the occupants of that famous dwelling. Among the frequent guests of Madam Hancock, during that memorable winter of 1774-1775, was Dorothy Quincy, who in her old age, as Madam Scott, said she well remembered hearing Earl Percy's voice when drilling the regulars near the Hancock mansion.

The Second Provincial Congress opened at Cambridge on Feb. 1, 1775; and John Hancock was there in the service of Boston. He was unanimously elected as the president of that body, and one of a committee to consider and report "the state and circumstances of the Province." On the fourth day of that session we find John Hancock putting the motion "that the secretary be directed to write Col. Roberson, desiring him to deliver the four brass field pieces, and the two brass mortars now in his hands, the property of the Province, to the order of the Committee of Safety." But there was another party in authority,—Governor Gage,—who was looking after arms and military stores in the interest of the king. We can readily imagine the surprise of his officers when going to look for the Province guns and finding only the carriages, and seem to hear their exclamation, "They are gone; these fellows will steal the teeth out of your head while you are keeping guard!"

Their search did not reveal the guns; an unbroken cobweb convinced them they could not have been taken out the gateway; and as the only other possible passage-way was through a schoolhouse, they proceeded to search there. With what intensity of feeling the boys in their seats and Mr. Holbrook, the schoolmaster, watched the officers. But the box on which Master

Holbrook's lame foot was carefully placed, was the one hiding-place undisturbed. Hence schoolmaster, boys, and other patriots had the satisfaction of knowing that they had acted an important part in saving two of the guns, and in carrying into execution the resolve of the Provincial Congress; for those guns were in service through the whole war, and are now seen on the wall inside of the top of Bunker Hill Monument, known as the Hancock and Adams.

THE HANCOCK:

SACRED TO LIBERTY.

This is one of four cannon which constituted the whole train of Field Artillery possessed by the British colonies of North America at the commencement of the war on the 19<sup>th</sup> of April, 1775.

THIS CANNON

and its fellow, belonging to a number of citizens of Boston, were used in many engagements during the war. The other two, the property of the Government of Massachusetts, were taken by the enemy.

---

By order of the United States, in Congress  
assembled May 19, 1788.

These two guns were used many years in the "Ancient and Honorable Artillery," and by them the Adams was burst in firing a salute.

It was in this session of the Provincial Congress that John Hancock and his associates, chosen by the former Congress as delegates to the Continental Congress, "were authorized and empowered, with the delegates from the other American Colonies, to adjourn from time to time, and place to place, as they shall judge necessary, and to continue as delegates until the end of



SITE OF HOME OF AMOS WYMAN, BILLERICA.  
Where Hancock and Adams found refuge April 19, 1775.



the year." The first session adjourned on Feb. 16; and we find its president, John Hancock, back in Boston on duty with the selectmen. On March 9 he was with those officials in their meeting "to examine into the affair of this morning when a countryman was tar'd and feathered and carried thro' the Streets of this Town by a large Party of Soldiers of the 47. Regiment headed by Coll<sup>o</sup> Nesbit."<sup>1</sup>

At the meeting of March 11, Hancock was in attendance when Ditson's case was freely discussed, and a letter ordered to be sent to the selectmen of Billerica. But he was absent on the 14th, when the officials of that town appeared before the Boston authorities.

On the 15th and 18th he was in the sessions. We almost wonder at this; for, on the previous evening, "Col. Hancock's elegant seat, situated near the Common, was attacked by a number of officers, who with their swords, cut and hacked the fence before his house in a most scandalous manner and behaved very abusively, by breaking people's windows, and insulting every person they met." With these scenes fresh in his mind, we may imagine with what intensity of feeling on the 18th John Hancock discussed the letter sent up to Boston by the selectmen of Middleboro, Plympton, and Halifax "relating to the ill behaviour of some of the Troops sent to Marshfield by General Gage."

On the following night, 19th, Hancock was again annoyed by the soldiers, who entered his enclosure, and refused to retire after his requesting them to do so, telling him that his house and stable would soon be theirs, and then they would do as they pleased.

We may well imagine that John Hancock presented

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Ditson of Billerica.

an anxious face at Concord on the morning of the 22d, when the second session of the Provincial Congress assembled. But with an unfaltering purpose he entered upon the duties of the president of the Assembly, and was faithful at his post until the adjournment on the 15th of April.

Knowing the condition of affairs in Boston, we conclude that Hancock did not return to his home during the intermissions of the session, but that he went to the Lexington parsonage, where his cousins, Rev. and Mrs. Jonas Clark, gladly welcomed him and his associate.

Turning again to the Hancock mansion, we are not surprised to find Madam Lydia Hancock anxious, especially now that her nephew, the master of the house, is absent, and serving as president of the Provincial Congress, making plans to thwart the king's army. The modest parsonage at Lexington offers a safe retreat for her; and in company with her young friend, Miss Quincy, she is driven in her coach to the home of her niece, where the family are once more together. John Hancock was on familiar ground when at this Lexington home; for, as we have seen in the introduction, he spent much of his time in childhood with his grandparents at this place. Upon the adjournment of the Congress at Concord he went immediately to Lexington; and Paul Révere has told us that he carried a message from Dr. Warren to Hancock and Adams on the following Sunday, whom he found at the home of Rev. Jonas Clark.

I have sat in that old parsonage until I have seen in fancy the notable group of that April night, as they gathered about the time-honored hearthstone.

The last rays of the setting sun have left the dampness

of the meadows to gather about the home; and each guest and family occupant has gladly taken seats within the house, while Mrs. Jonas Clark has closed the shutters, added a new fore-log, and fanned the embers to a cheerful flame. Although the venerable widow is partially hidden in the shadow, the flickering candle reveals the sadness of her countenance when the condition of affairs in Boston is discussed. But the shadow is dispelled for a time as Madam Hancock tells her nephew and other guests of the visit that day from her pastor, Rev. Dr. Cooper, who fled from Boston on the 16th of April, and went out to Weston, and had taken a trip to the Lexington parsonage, and dined there with her and Rev. and Mrs. Clark. The stern and inflexible Samuel Adams hears it all, and declares his purpose with undaunted zeal, finding in Rev. Jonas Clark one of a kindred spirit. The young couple whom Madam Hancock has studiously brought together exchange sympathetic glances as they take part in the conversation. Hancock and Adams are among patriot friends. They know that many a flame has been kindled from the Lexington altar; and they do not hesitate to tell of the action of the Provincial Congress, and speak of the gathering cloud so near to bursting. The hours wear away, and the candles are snuffed once more; and before they burn into the brass sockets all have retired, not without apprehensions of approaching trouble, but with little thought that the king's strong arm of military authority is already extended toward that room where the Congressmen have pillow'd their weary heads.

Leaving the immortal Longfellow to tell,—

It was one by the village clock,  
When he galloped into Lexington,

we trace John Hancock, as with Samuel Adams and Miss Quincy, he is driven over to Woburn Precinct, Burlington, where the company are welcomed by Madam Jones at the Precinct Parsonage. But Hancock was not permitted to remain there long. An excited messenger brought a false alarm; and when about to sit down to a bountiful meal, the two patriots were conducted by Cuff, the parsonage negro slave, away through the woods to the home of Amos Wyman,<sup>1</sup> in an obscure corner of the town of Billerica, just at Bedford line. How Hancock's scarlet cloak must have aroused the songsters of that April morning, as his graceful figure glided through the forest! and how welcome must have been the sight of that rude home as they approached the door, which swung open as Cuff pulled the latch-string, and proudly ushered in the noted men! The early start, bracing April breeze, and savory smell of promised food at the parsonage, conspired to arouse an appetite in these men that could not be longer suppressed. The modest housewife gave her unaccustomed guests the best she had. Cold boiled salt pork, cold potatoes, and brown bread were strange viands for Hancock; but he ate them with a relish that was not forgotten when he was again master of his own home.

<sup>1</sup> The Wyman estate of 1775 is now owned by Mr. George Bennett of Burlington. Through his permission, patriotic citizens of Billerica have taken steps to add to the natural and historical attractions of the place. The old well has been restored to its former usefulness; and a boulder, near the old hearth-stone, bears the following inscription:—

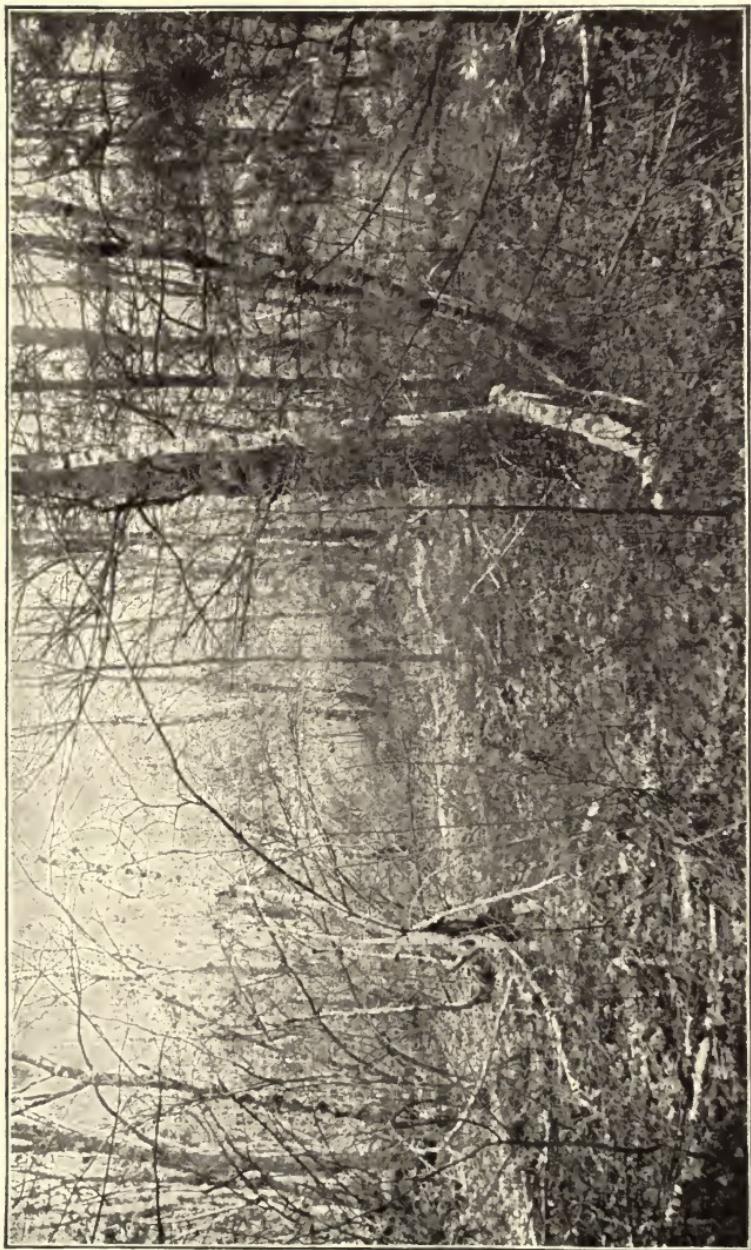
AMOS WYMAN HOMESTEAD.

HERE

JOHN HANCOCK AND SAMUEL ADAMS

FOUND REFUGE FROM THE BRITISH SOLDIERS, APRIL 19, 1775.

THIS INSCRIPTION PLACED HERE BY THE BILLERICA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1898.



THE FOREST PATH TAKEN BY HANCOCK AND ADAMS  
April 19, 1775.



How long John Hancock and his companion remained in seclusion is not known ; but wisely directed caution must have kept them beyond the possible reach of General Gage, who was bent on their arrest, to be sent to England for trial.

## CHAPTER XVIII

JOHN HANCOCK CHOSEN PRESIDENT OF THE SECOND CONTINENTAL CONGRESS. HE IS PROSCRIBED BY PROCLAMATION OF GENERAL GAGE. A LOVE-LETTER AND SUBSEQUENT MARRIAGE.

THE third session of the Second Provincial Congress convened at Concord on April 22, and immediately adjourned to Watertown. But as Hancock was a delegate to the Continental Congress, to convene at Philadelphia on May 10, he did not again appear in that body.

His next appearance is told by the following letter to the Committee of Safety:—

[From *New England Magazine*.]

WORCESTER, April 24, 1775.  
Monday Evening.

GENTLEMEN: Mr. S. Adams and myself, just arrived here, find no intelligence from you, and no guard. We just hear an express has just passed through this place to you, from New York, informing that administration is bent upon pushing matters; and that four regiments are expected there. How are we to proceed? Where are our brethren? Surely, we ought to be supported. I had rather be with you; and, at present, am fully determined to be with you, before I proceed. I beg, by the return of this express, to hear from you, and pray, furnish us with depositions of the conduct of the troops, the certainty of their firing first, and every circumstance relative to the conduct of the troops from the 19<sup>th</sup> instant, to this time, that we may be able to give some account of matters as we proceed, especially at Philadelphia, also, I beg you would order your secretary to make out an account of your proceedings since what has taken place; what your plan is; what prisoners we have,

and what they have of ours ; who of note was killed, on both sides ; who commands our forces, &c.

Are our men in good spirits ? For God's sake do not suffer the spirit to subside, until they have perfected the reduction of our enemies. Boston *must* be entered ; the troops must be sent away, . . . Our friends are valuable, but our country must be saved. I have an interest in that town. What can be the enjoyment of that town, if I am obliged to hold it at the will of Gen. Gage or any one else ? I doubt not your vigilance, your fortitude, and resolution. Do let us know how you proceed. We must have the Castle. The ships must be . . . Stop up the harbor against large vessels coming. You know better what to do than I can point out. Where is Mr. Cushing.<sup>1</sup> Are Mr. Paine<sup>2</sup> and Mr. John Adams to be with us ? What are we to depend upon ? We travel rather as deserters, which I will not submit to. I will return and join you, if I cannot detain this man, as I want much to hear from you. How goes on the Congress ? Who is your president ? Are the members hearty ? Pray remember Mr. S. Adams and myself to all friends. God be with you.

I am, gentlemen, your faithful and hearty countryman

JOHN HANCOCK.

To the GENTLEMEN COMMITTEE OF SAFETY.

The above letter leads to the conclusion that Hancock and his companion, soon after their frugal meal at Amos Wyman's in Billerica, set out on their journey to Philadelphia. It was but five days after the flight from Lexington that Hancock penned the letter from Worcester. Anxiety is detected in its tone. Let us look for the occasion of it. The Province of Massachusetts had risen in her own defence, and bravely had she maintained her ground ; but her garments were wet with the blood of her sons mingled with that of the loyal subjects of the king. How were the other Provinces to regard this precipitation ? Connecticut and New Hampshire had sustained them ; and their sons had responded to

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Cushing.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Treat Paine.

the Lexington alarm, and were ready to share in the perils of the time. But how would the rest of the country regard the movement? Would they stand by Massachusetts in this extremity? It was such questions that disturbed the minds of these delegates to the Second Continental Congress. They were sure of New England; and as the Hancock coach rolled along through Connecticut, the occupants felt perfectly safe, but the attitude of New York was yet to be learned.

Hancock's letter to Miss Quincy supplies the information:—

[From "Family Memorials," by Edward E. Salisbury.]

NEW YORK, *Sabbath Even'g, May 7, 1775.*

MY DEAR DOLLY:—

I Arriv'd well, tho' Fatigued, at King's Bridge at Fifty Minutes after Two o'clock yesterday, where I found the Delegates of Massachusetts and Connect', with a Number of Gentlemen from New York, and a Guard of the Troop. I Din'd and then set out in Procession for New York, the Carriage of your humble servant of course being first in the Procession. When we Arriv'd within three Miles of the City we were Met by the Grenadier Company and Regiment of the City Militia under Arms, Gentlemen in Carriages and on Horseback, and many Thousand of Persons on Foot, the Roads fill'd with people, and the greatest Cloud of Dust I ever saw. In this Scituation we Entered the City, and passing thro' the Principal Streets of New York amidst the Acclamations of Thousands were set Down at Mr. Francis's. After Entering the House three Huzzas were Given, and the People by Degrees Dispers'd.

When I got within a mile of the City my Carriage was stopt, and Persons appearing with proper Harnesses insisted upon Taking out my Horses and Dragging me into and through the City, a Circumstance I would not have had Taken place upon any consideration, not being fond of such Parade.

I Beg'd and Intreated that they would Suspend the Design, and ask'd it as a favour, and the Matter Subsided, but when I got to the Entrance of the City, and the Numbers of Spectators increas'd to perhaps Seven Thousand or more, they Declar'd they would have the Horses out and would Drag me themselves thro' the City.

I Repeated my Request, and I was oblig'd to apply to the Leading Gentlemen in the procession to intercede with them not to Carry their Designs into Execution; as it was very disagreeable to me. They were at last prevail'd upon and I proceded. I was much oblig'd to them for their good wishes and Opinion, in short no Person could possibly be more notic'd than myself.

After having Rode so fast and so many Miles you may well think I was much Fatigu'd, but no sooner had I got into the Room of the House we were Visited by a great number of Gentlemen of the first Character in the city, who Took up the Evening.

About 10 o'clock I Sat down to Supper of Fried Oysters, &c., at 11 o'clock went to Capt. Sears's (the King Inn) and Lodg'd. Arose at 5 o'clock, went to the House first mention'd, Breakfasted, Dress'd and went to Meeting, where I heard a most excellent Sermon by Mr. Livingston, Return'd to the same House, a most Elegant Dinner provided.

Went to Meeting, heard Dr. Rogers, a fine preacher. To-morrow Morning propose to Cross the Ferry. We are to have a large Guard in several Boats and a Number of the City Gentlemen will attend us over. I can't think they will Dare attack us.

The Grenadier Company of the City is to Continue under Arms during our stay here, and we have a Guard of them Night and Day at our Doors. This is a sad mortification for the Tories, things look well here.

The travelling company now consisted of John Hancock, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Thomas Cushing, Robert Treat Paine, Roger Sherman, and Silas Deane.

I Beg you will write me; do acquaint me every Circumstance Relative to that Dear Aunt of Mine; write Lengthy and often. Mr. Nath. Barrett and Mr. Buck are here. People move slowly out, they tell me, from Boston. My best Respects to Mr. & Mrs. Burr. My poor Face and Eyes are in a most shocking scituuation, burnt up and much swell'd and a little painfull. I don't know how to manage with it.

Is your Father out? As soon as you know, do acquaint me, and send me the Letters, and I will then write him. Pray let me hear from you by every Post. God Bless you my Dr Girl, and believe me most Sincerely

Yours most Affectionately,

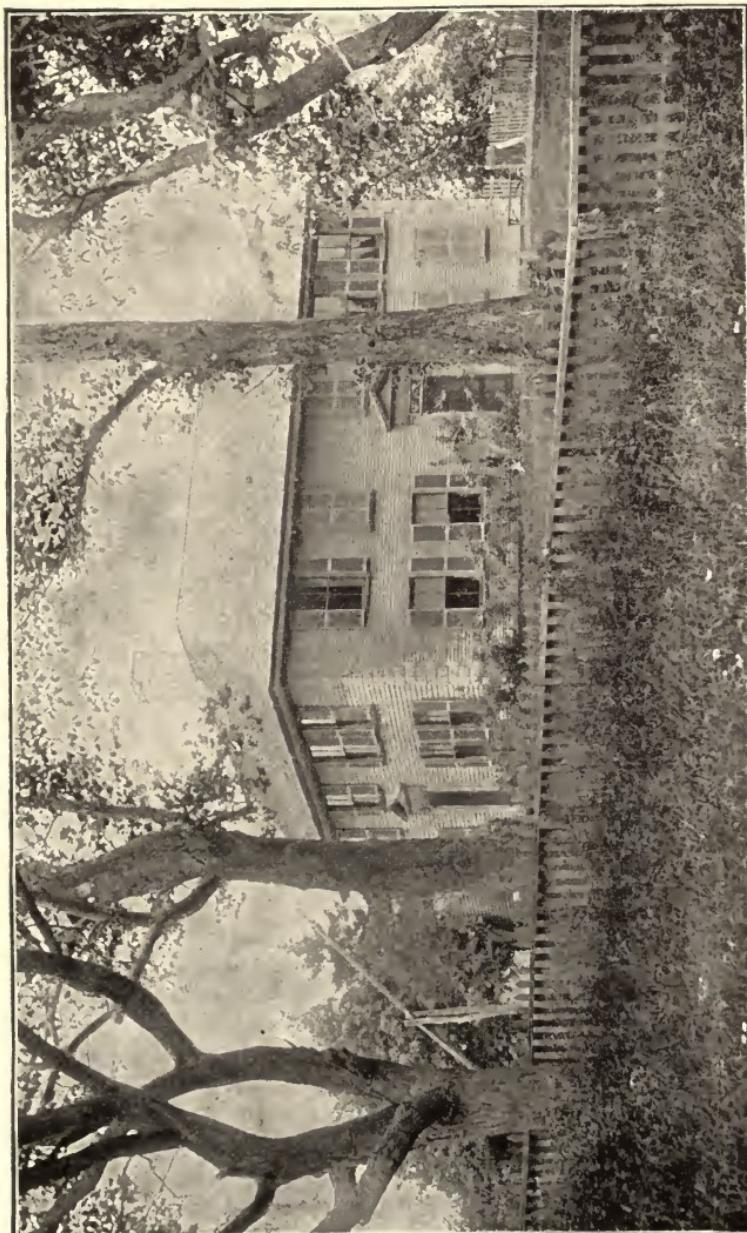
JOHN HANCOCK.

It is apparent that Hancock's ideas, when at Worcester, of the duty of the Provincial Congress, were exactly those of that body left by him; for, as soon as the Continental Congress assembled, a packet was received from Massachusetts Congress, containing copies of the depositions sent to London, of the address to the inhabitants of Great Britain, and a letter to Benjamin Franklin, Esq.

As we have been interested in the noted men shown by the Letter-book to have been in touch with Hancock at Boston, so we cannot fail to have an interest in those with whom he came in contact through the opening and progress of the Second Continental Congress at Philadelphia. There was George Washington from Virginia, whom Hancock had met in Boston in the year 1756. Richard Henry Lee, a close companion of Colonel Washington, was early introduced to Hancock by John Adams, who had made the acquaintance of the Virginian at the former Congress. Peyton Randolph, the president of the former Congress, and also the one chosen to the honored seat for the Second Congress, was early presented to Hancock, the man who almost alone of the wealthy, aristocratic merchants of Boston had early espoused the side of opposition to Great Britain. Others from Virginia were Edmund Pendleton, Benjamin Harrison, and Richard Bland. Benjamin Franklin and Hancock met before the Congress assembled. They were both Massachusetts born, and now, as regards age and experience, stood in the relation of father and son. George Clinton and Robert Livingston from New York were soon on friendly relations with Hancock.

The late coming of Thomas Jefferson in place of Peyton Randolph, who was obliged to return to his home, brought another man to the side of Hancock.

UNITY OF  
CALUMETTE



PRECINCT PARSONAGE, BURLINGTON.  
Here Hancock and Adams were welcomed April 19, 1775.



Southern delegates were not averse to him as they were to the more radical Adamses; for Hancock, representing a different class of society, was more conciliatory in his presence.

It was during the early part of this Congress that General Gage at Boston issued a proclamation offering pardon to all the rebels except Samuel Adams and John Hancock, "whose offences are of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment." It was a proscribed rebel who was selected by this notable assembly as their president when Peyton Randolph retired. Benjamin Harrison conducted John Hancock to the president's chair, remarking as he went, "We will show Britain how much we value her proscriptions."

Hancock's ability as a presiding officer had been detected in the Boston town-meetings, and in this exalted position he merited much credit. It was when Hancock was in the chair that Washington was nominated by John Adams as commander-in-chief of the Continental army. Thus Virginia and Massachusetts were strengthening their early alliance. It was at this nomination that John Adams is credited with having detected in the countenance of Hancock jealousy and resentment. Without questioning the power of John Adams to penetrate to the feelings of a silent man, we can but accord credit to the one who was disappointed, for having so mastered his ambitions as to write to General Washington, on July 10, 1775, as follows:—

I must beg the favor that you will reserve some berth for me, in such department as you may judge most proper; for I am determined to act under you, if it be to take a firelock and join the ranks as volunteer.

It does not appear that Hancock joined the army under Washington, but the letter speaks for itself. Other and later evidence of Hancock's friendly regard for Washington is seen in the naming of his son John George Washington Hancock.

In May, Congress directed reprisals to be made, both by public and private armed vessels, against the ships and goods of the mother country, found on the high seas. By this act, known as privateering, Hancock saw that the Congress were in sympathy with him and other merchants who had for years been declaring that the commercial question was the one of great importance.

As the overburdened merchant, banker, or politician leaves his office, and seeks relief in the quiet of domestic comforts, so we find the president of the Continental Congress, with mind distracted by private and public cares, turn for relief to the most common, trifling concerns of domestic life.

Lest we lose sight of that charming young lady last seen at the parsonage at Woburn Precinct, let us leave the arena of government, and follow her to Fairfield, Conn., where she is the guest at the house of Thaddeus Burr, and there receives a letter from her lover, John Hancock.

[From *New England Magazine*.]

PHILAD'A, 10th June, 1775.

MY DR. DOLLY: I am almost prevail'd on to think that my letters to my Aunt & you are not read, for I cannot obtain a reply, I have ask'd million questions & not an answer to one, I beg'd you to let me know what things my Aunt wanted & you, and many other matters I wanted to know, but not one word in answer. I Really Take it extreme unkind, pray my Dr. use not so much Ceremony & Reservedness, why can't you use freedom in writing, be not afraid of me, I want long Letters. I am glad the little things I sent you were agreeable. Why did you not write me of the top of the Um-

brella. I am so sorry it was spoiled, but I will send you another by my Express w<sup>ch</sup> will go in a few days. How did my Aunt like her gown, & do let me know if the Stockings suited her; she had better send a pattern shoe & stocking, I warrant I will suit her. The Inclo'sd letter for your Father you will read, & seal & forward him, you will observe I mention in it your writing your Sister Katy about a few necessaries for Katy Sewall, what you think Right let her have & Roy James, this only between you and I; do write your Father I should be glad to hear from him, & I Beg, my Dear Dolly, you will write me often & long Letters, I will forgive the past if you will mend in future. Do ask my Aunt to make me up & send me a Watch String, & do you make up another & send me, I wear them out fast. I want some little thing of your doing.

Remember me to all Friends with you as if nam'd. I am call'd upon & must obey.

I have sent you by Docr Church in a paper Box Directed to you, the following things, for your acceptance, & which I do insist you wear, if you do not, I shall think the Donor is the objection :

2 pair white silk	{	stockings which
4 pr. white thread	{	I think will fit you
1 pr. Black Satin	{	shoes, the other
1 p. Black Calem Co.	{	Shall be sent when done.

1 very pretty light Hat

1 neat Airy Summer Cloak. (I ask Docr. Church)

2 caps

1 Fann

I wish these may please you, I shall be gratified if they do, pray write me, I will attend to all your Commands.

Adieu my Dr Girl, and believe me to be with great Esteem & Affection.

Yours without Reserve,

JOHN HANCOCK.

Remember me to Katy Brackett.

It is to be hoped that the heart of John Hancock was soothed by a note from Miss "Dolly," and that he was comforted by receiving the simple testimonial, a watch-string, for which he expressed a wish.

As may well be supposed, Hancock's shrewd, design-

ing Aunt Lydia was a guest with Miss Quincy at the home of Thaddeus Burr; and had it not been for her presence, family history might have taken a different turn.

A nephew of their host, Aaron Burr, came as a guest to the home; and his magnetic influence soon had an effect upon the beautiful young lady guest. But the watchful aunt prevented the charmer from thwarting the Hancock family plans, and on the 28th day of the following August there was a great wedding at Fairfield. John Hancock, the President of the Continental Congress, and Miss Dorothy Quincy were joined in marriage in style befitting the family situation.

The noted couple went at once to Philadelphia, and took up their abode, thus providing a retreat for the weary president when he daily retired from the duties of Congress.

While it was not prudent for Hancock to return to Boston during the siege, he kept in touch with the patriots who were there, communication being kept up by the hand of his servant. See letter of John Adams to his wife:—

PHILADELPHIA, 29 May, 1775.

Our amiable friend Hancock, who, by the way, is our President, is to send his servant to-morrow to Cambridge. I am to send a few lines by him. If his man should come to you, to deliver this letter, treat him very kindly, because he is a kind, humane, clever fellow.



JOHN HANCOCK.  
President of Continental Congress.



## CHAPTER XIX

HANCOCK'S LETTER TO WASHINGTON IN REGARD TO BOMBARDING BOSTON. LETTER TO CANADA. REJOICING AT WASHINGTON'S REPORT OF THE EVACUATION OF BOSTON. - OCCUPANTS OF HANCOCK MANSION DURING THE SIEGE OF BOSTON. HANCOCK DENOUNCES CHARGE AGAINST THE PROVINCES. HANCOCK AND HIS WIFE INVITE GENERAL AND LADY WASHINGTON TO THEIR HOME AT PHILADELPHIA. DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. FLIGHT TO BALTIMORE. BIRTH OF A DAUGHTER TO JOHN AND DOROTHY HANCOCK. HANCOCK'S APPEAL FOR PROTECTION OF NEW ENGLAND.

ALTHOUGH Hancock had a new-found treasure with him at Philadelphia, he turned at times with solicitude to Boston, where his property was at the mercy of the enemy. He thought of that army besieging the town, but he knew their leader was friendly ; and to Washington, located in the beautiful home on "Tory Row," Cambridge, Hancock wrote on Dec. 22, 1775 :—

For your future proceedings, I must beg leave to refer you to the inclosed resolutions. I would just inform you that the last resolve, relative to an attack upon Boston, passed after a most serious debate in a committee of the whole house. You are now left to the dictates of prudence and your own judgment. May God crown your attempt with success. I most heartily wish it, though, individually, I may be the greatest sufferer.

To the inhabitants of Canada Hancock says :—

Let it be the pride of those whose souls are warmed and illuminated by the sacred flames of freedom, to be discouraged by no

check, and to surmount every obstacle that may be interposed between them and the darling object of their wishes. We anticipate, in our pleased imaginations, the happy period when the standard of tyranny shall find no place in North America.

In addressing General Philip Schuyler, after the surrender of Montreal, Hancock writes :—

You have hitherto risen superior to a thousand difficulties, in giving freedom to a great and an oppressed people. You have already reaped many laurels, but a plentiful harvest still invites you. Proceed, therefore, and let the footsteps of victory open a way for the blessings of liberty, and the happiness of a well-ordered government to visit that extensive domain. Consider that the road to glory is seldom strewed with flowers ; and that, when the black and bloody standard of tyranny is erected in a land possessed by freemen, patriots cease to remain inactive spectators of their country's fall.



GENERAL GEORGE  
WASHINGTON.

In a letter to General Montgomery, in regard to the surrender of Montreal, Hancock writes :

The Congress, utterly abhorrent from every species of cruelty to prisoners, and determined to adhere to this benevolent maxim till the conduct of their enemies renders a deviation from it indispensably necessary, will ever applaud their officers for beautifully blending the Christian with the conqueror, and never, in endeavoring to acquire the character of the hero, to lose that of the man.

Remembering that on March 17, 1776, General Gage, with the British army and a thousand or more Loyalists (Tories), abandoned Boston, and that Washington entered the evacuated town at once, we are curious to know how the good news affected the absent Boston merchant, John Hancock.

This we find in a letter of eight days later to the commander-in-chief :—

SIR: I had the honor of receiving yesterday yours of the 19<sup>th</sup>, containing the agreeable information of the ministerial troops having abandoned Boston, the partial victory we have obtained over them in that quarter, I hope, will turn out a happy presage of a more general one. Whatever place may be the object of their destination, it must certainly give a sincere pleasure to every friend of the country to see the most diligent preparations everywhere making to receive them. What may be their views, it is, indeed, impossible to tell with any degree of exactness. We have all the reason, however, from the rage of disappointment and revenge, to expect the worst. Nor have I any doubt that, as far as their power extends, they will inflict every species of calamity upon us. The same Providence that has baffled their attempt against the Province of Massachusetts Bay will, I trust, defeat the deep-laid scheme, they are now meditating against some other part of our country.

The intelligence that our army had got possession of Boston, you will readily suppose, gave me heartfelt pleasure. I beg sir, you will be pleased to accept my warmest thanks for the attention you have showed to my property in that town. I have only to request that Capt. Cazneau will continue to look after and take care that it be no ways destroyed or damaged. This success of our arms naturally calls upon me to congratulate you, sir, to whose wisdom and conduct it has been owing. Permit me to add, that if a constant discharge of the most important duties, and the fame attending thereon, can afford genuine satisfaction, the pleasure you feel must be the most rational and exalted.

[Letter from "Book of the Signers."]

PHILADELPHIA, 21<sup>st</sup> March, 1776.  
Thursday Evening.

SIR: I am this moment honor'd with your fav'r of 13<sup>th</sup> by Express which I shall lay before Congress in the morning. I expect immediately to be order'd to Dispatch the first Fessenden to you when I shall have the honour to write you very particularly. This is only to inform you that I have sent Two hundred and fifty Thousand Dollars for the use of the army under your command. In the care of Thomas Hanson, John Donaldson & Moses Franks, Esqrs, gentlemen of character, who I am confident will meet your

notice. I am with the fullest sentiments of Esteem, Sir Your very  
humble servt,

JOHN HANCOCK, Pres'd't.

HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

On Public Service

*Superscribed*

*To HIS EXCELLENCY, GENERAL WASHINGTON,  
Commander in Chief of the Army of the United Colonies, &c.  
at Cambridge.*

JOHN HANCOCK, by Mr. Hanson.

The official letter, with congratulations from Congress, under date of April 2, bears the signature of John Hancock.

Hancock's private letter to Washington furnishes an intimation of the facts which the reader, interested in the Hancock mansion, must desire to know.

The conduct of Gage's troops about the premises, before the family vacated, made the members the more anxious in their absence. The property was intrusted to Captain Cazneau,<sup>1</sup> one of John Hancock's sailing-masters, who had no employment when the blockade went into effect. How far his vigilance may have been helpful, cannot be known; but the mansion was spared, although not without signs of the rough treatment of the officers who enjoyed its luxuriant furnishings, as a subsequent letter reveals.

This mansion was occupied soon after April 19, 1775, by Earl Percy, who took possession by order of General Gage. General Clinton was located there for a time. Both house and stables were in part occupied by the

<sup>1</sup> Captain Isaac Cazneau, of Huguenot descent, nephew of Paix Cazneau, who kept the Sun Tavern of Boston.

wounded brought over to Boston on the night succeeding the Battle of Bunker Hill.<sup>1</sup>

Hancock says on April 30, 1776:—

The unprepared state of the colonies, on the commencement of the war, and the almost total want of everything necessary to carry it on, are the true sources from whence all our difficulties have proceeded. This fact, however, furnishes a proof most striking of the weakness or wickedness of those who charge them with an original intention of withdrawing from the government of Great Britain, and erecting an independent empire. Had such a scheme been formed, the most warlike preparations would have been necessary to effect it.

This truthful analysis of the situation tallied with Franklin's statement to Lord Chatham just before April 19, 1775, "I never heard from any person the least expression of a wish for separation;" also with Washington's words in the previous October, "No such thing as independence is desired by any thinking man in America;" and with Jefferson's statement, "Before the 19th of April, 1775, I never heard a whisper of a disposition to separate from Great Britain." John Adams's statement, published a month before open hostilities, breathes the same. It is, "That there are any who pant after independence is the greatest slander in the Province."

The removal of the seat of war from New England gave occasion for the commander-in-chief to proceed to New York, where he made his headquarters. But the

<sup>1</sup> The town, although it has suffered greatly, is not in so bad a state as I expected to find it; and I have a particular pleasure in being able to inform you, sir, that your house has received no damage worth mentioning. Your furniture is in tolerable order, and the family pictures are all left entire and untouched.—WASHINGTON TO HANCOCK.

Continental Congress, on May 16, passed a resolution calling Washington to Philadelphia, in order to advise with them as to future movements. The expected visit gave Hancock an opportunity to express his kindly feeling towards Washington, which is seen in the following letter :—

I reside in an airy, open part of the city, in Arch Street and Fourth Street. Your favor of the 20<sup>th</sup> inst. I received this morning, and cannot help expressing the very great pleasure it would afford Mrs. Hancock and myself to have the happiness of accommodating you during Your stay in this city. As the house I live in is large and roomy, it will be entirely in Your power to live in that manner you should wish. Mrs. Washington may be as retired as she pleases, while under inoculation,<sup>1</sup> and Mrs. Hancock will esteem it an honor to have Mrs. Washington inoculated in her house; and as I am informed Mr. Randolph has not any lady about his house to take the necessary care of Mrs. Washington, I flatter myself she will be as well attended in my family.

In short, sir, I must take the freedom to repeat my wish, that You will be pleased to condescend to dwell under my roof. I assure you, sir, I will do all in my power to render your stay agreeable, and my house shall be entirely at your disposal. I must, however, submit this to your determination and only add that you will peculiarly gratify Mrs. H. and myself, in affording me an opportunity of convincing you of this truth, that I am, with every sentiment of regard for you and your connections, and with much esteem, dear sir,

Your faithful and most obedient humble servant.

The result of the deliberations of Congress is learned from the following letter of July 6, 1776, to Washington :—

The Congress, for some days past, have had their attention occupied by one of the most interesting and important subjects that could possibly come before them, or any other assembly of men.

<sup>1</sup> Having had the small-pox when a young man, at Barbadoes, Washington felt safe in the presence of that dreaded malady, which caused so much trouble during the war; but he was anxious for Mrs. Washington to be inoculated, as the means of prevention adopted at that time.

Although it is not possible to foresee consequences of human actions, yet it is, nevertheless, a duty we owe ourselves and posterity, in all our public counsels, to decide in the best manner we are able, and to trust the event to that Being, who controls both causes and events, to bring about his own determinations. Impressed with this sentiment, and at the same time fully convinced that our affairs may take a more favorable turn, the Congress have judged it necessary to dissolve all connections between Great Britain and the American Colonies, and to declare them free and independent States, as you will perceive by the enclosed Declaration, which I am directed by Congress to transmit to you, and to request you will have proclaimed at the head of the army, in the way you shall think most proper.

It was to this Declaration that John Hancock was first to affix his signature, saying, "I write so that George the Third may read without his spectacles."<sup>1</sup>

While the patriots of the various towns had, by their votes, encouraged their representatives to declare the country's independence, there were not wanting those who believed and said that John Hancock and all who had put their names on that document had signed their death-warrant.

Among those who urged the president to this bold act was his father-in-law, Edmund Quincy, who in a letter, under date of March 25, 1776, said:—

Truly I think that the member of the House of Commons, who, in a ludicrous manner, inquired at what time the Americans were emancipated might have saved himself the trouble by looking into Sir William Blackstone's "Commentaries," vol. i., p. 233, upon the duties of kings, where he would have found it to be a maxim of common law: "When protection ceaseth, allegiance ceaseth to be the duty of subjects."—*Mass. Historical Society, 1858-1860.*

<sup>1</sup> The signature of the President of the Continental Congress, seen upon the Declaration of Independence, has been characterized as evidence of egotism, but will be seen to appear in very similar style in private letters to Mrs. Hancock, penned for no other eyes than those of his beloved wife.

People may disagree as to the inherent and acquired ability of Hancock. There may be varied opinions as to the motives of his declarations, oral and written, and one overt act may be allowed to outweigh scores of creditable ones; but his name is immortal, and to be read upon the Declaration of Independence "without spectacles" by every lover of liberty and by every would-be tyrant. (See *Frontispiece.*)

We may imagine that Hancock took peculiar pride in his communication to General Artemas Ward,<sup>1</sup> under the same date as that to Washington; for it was to the people of Boston and the entire Province of Massachusetts.

PHILADELPHIA, July 6, 1776.

SIR: The enclosed Declaration of Independence, I am directed to transmit to you with a request that you will have it proclaimed at the head of the troops under your command in the way you shall think most proper. I have only time to add, that the importance of it will naturally suggest the Propriety of proclaiming it in such a manner, as that the whole army may be fully apprised of it.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Your most obed. and very h'ble sev't,

JOHN HANCOCK, Presdt.

In an eloquent appeal to the thirteen United States, dated at Philadelphia, Sept. 24, 1776, Hancock says:—

Let us convince our enemies that, as we are entered into the present contest for the defence of our liberties, so we are resolved, with the firmest reliance on Heaven for the justice of our cause, never to relinquish it, but rather to perish in the ruins of it. If we do but remain firm,—if we are not dismayed at the little shocks of fortune, and are determined, at all hazards, that we will be free,—I am persuaded under the gracious smiles of Providence, assisted by our own most strenuous endeavors, we shall finally succeed, agreea-

<sup>1</sup> Artemas Ward kept a general store at Shrewsbury, purchasing broadcloth, etc., of John Hancock.—OLD TIMES IN SHREWSBURY, by Miss Elizabeth Ward.



MRS. JOHN HANCOCK.



bly to our wishes, and thereby establish the independence, the happiness, and the glory of the United States of America.

In a letter to several States dated Philadelphia, Oct. 9, 1776, Hancock writes :—

The Congress, for very obvious reasons, are extremely anxious to keep the army together. The dangerous consequences of their breaking up, and the difficulty of forming a new one, are inconceivable. Were this barrier once removed, military power would quickly spread desolation and ruin over the face of our country. The importance, and, indeed, the absolute necessity, of filling up the army, of providing for the troops, and engaging them to serve during the war, is so apparent, and has been so frequently urged, that I shall only request your attention to the resolve of Congress on this subject ; and beseech you by that love you have for your country, her rights and liberties, to exert yourselves to carry them Speedily and effectually, as the only means of preserving her in this her critical and alarming situation.

The next letter at our command was written from Baltimore. The occasion of the change of location was the unpleasant nearness of the British army. Washington plainly saw, after his retreat through the Jerseys, that the enemy intended to take possession of Philadelphia as soon as the Delaware River should be frozen over ; and that city seemed to be inevitably lost. For greater safety, Congress changed their place of meeting from Philadelphia to Baltimore. It was Dec. 12, 1776, when the members gathered up their papers, and made haste to their new quarters. Not one of the noted men had more occasion for anxiety at this critical period than the president.

There was soon added to his family an infant daughter, who was given the name of the honored aunt, Lydia Henchman. The child and its mother were objects of Hancock's tenderest solicitude, and not until he saw

them comfortably located at the home of Mr. Samuel Purviance in Baltimore could he turn his attention to the protection of the infant republic.

It was on Dec. 25, 1776, that Hancock wrote to New England thus :—

It is needless to use arguments on this occasion, or to paint the dreadful consequences, to gentlemen already fully acquainted with them, of leaving the back settlements of the New England States open to the ravages of our merciless foes. If anything can add to your exertions, at this time, it must be the reflection that your own most immediate safety calls upon you to strain every nerve. Should we heedlessly abandon the post of Ticonderoga, we give up inconceivable advantages. Should we resolutely maintain it,—and it is extremely capable of defence, we may bid defiance to Gen. Carleton, and the northern army under his command. But our exertions for this purpose must be immediate, or they will not avail anything.

## CHAPTER XX

CONGRESS RETURNS TO PHILADELPHIA. LETTER TO MRS. HANCOCK. HANCOCK RESIGNS AS PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS. RETURNS TO BOSTON. RECEPTION. ELECTED TO TOWN OFFICE. MILITARY SERVICE. RECEPTION TO FRENCH FLEET. HANCOCK PAYS BILLS FOR BOSTON'S HONOR.

So successful was Washington, the commander-in-chief, when vested with unlimited power, and the danger that threatened Philadelphia so far removed, that Congress returned in the following February. Hancock personally made the change of residence with little difficulty ; but it was not so easy to remove his family and re-establish his home. His heart yearned for his wife and babe, and two letters written on succeeding days afford much intelligence. By them we are forcibly reminded of the inconvenience of travel at the time ; that Hancock received family supplies from Boston ; that he did not forget those who befriended him in trouble, even though he had nothing more than codfish, a staple of Massachusetts, to offer in reward. He had experienced some difficulty at one of the taverns on the route, and wisely warned Mrs. Hancock against it. While he would have the travelling company enjoy a "genteel dinner," he was particular that it was at his expense. Burdened with cares and short of money, he hopes relief may come with his family.

An artist could give no more vivid picture of the president than is afforded by his own words when he

pauses in his duties to eat a plate of "minc'd veal" brought in by his servant "Jo."

[Letter in possession of Mrs. William Wales.]

PHILADELPHIA 10th March 1777.

10 o'clock evening.

MY DEAR DEAR DOLLY: My Detention at the Ferry & the badness of the Roads prevented my arriving here untill Friday Evening.

I put my things into Mr. Williams' house, and went in pursuit of Lodgings. Neither Mrs. Yard nor Lucy could accommodate me. I then went to Smith's & borrowed Two Blankets & returned to my own house ; soon after which, Mrs. Smith sent me up a very handsome supper, with a Table cloth, Knives & forks, plates, salt, a print of Butter, Tea, double refined Sugar, a Bowl of Cream, a Loaf of Bread &c. &c. & here I have remain'd & shall do so waiting your arrival. Indeed Mrs. Smith oblig'd me much. I however lead a doleful lonesome life. Tho' on Saturday, I dined at Dr. Shippins'. He desires his Regds. he is as lonesome as I. On Saturday I sat down to Dinner at the little table with Folger on a piece of Roast Beef with Potatoes. We drank your health with all our Baltimore friends. Last night Miss Lucy came to see me, & this morning, while I was at Breakfast on Tea with a pewter tea-spoon, Mrs. Yard came in. she could not stay to Breakfast with me. I spend my evenings at home, snuff my candles with a pair of scissors, which Lucy seeing, sent me a pair of snuffers, & dipping the gravy out of the Dish with my pewter tea spoon, she sent me a large silver spoon, and two silver tea spoons — that I am now quite rich.

I shall make out as well as I can, but I assure you, my Dear Soul, I long to have you here, & I know you will be as expeditious as you can. When I part from you again it must be a very extraordinary occasion. I have sent everywhere to get a gold or silver rattle for the child with a coral to send, but cannot get one. I will have one if possible on yr. coming. I have sent a sash for her & two little papers of pins for you. If you do not want them you can give them away.

However unsettled things may be I could not help sending for you as I cannot live in this way. We have an abundance of lies. The current report is General Howe is bent on coming here, another report is that the Mercht's at New York are packing their goods & putting them on board ships & that the troops are going away, neither of which do I believe. We must, however take our chances,

this you may depend on, that you will be ever the object of my utmost care & attention.

I have been exceedingly busy, since I have been here, tho' have not yet made a Congress, are waiting for the South Carolina gentlemen. If Capt. Hammond is arriv'd with any things from Boston, You will have them put in the waggons & brought here. If she should not be arriv'd leave the Receipt with Mr. S. Purviance & desire him to receive the things & send them to me. The inclosed Letter give to Mr. Newhouse, one of the Waggoners, Send for him & Let him know when You will be ready. I hope you will be able to pack up all your things quickly & have them on the way, & that you will soon follow, be careful in packing & do not leave anything behind. Let Harry see that every thing is safely stored in the waggons. I send Mr. McClosky, he will be very useful. I am confident Mr. & Mrs. Hilligas will assist you, pray my best Regds. to them. I have not had a moments time to go to their house, but intend it today & shall write Mr. Hilligas by the Post. Young Mr. Hilligas got here on Saturday, he is well, he delivered me your letter & one from his father. I was exceeding glad to hear from you & hope soon to receive another Letter. I know you will set off as soon as You can. endeavor to make good stages. You may easily lodge at Mr. Steles' at Bush the first night. It is a good house. However I must leave those matters to you as the Road, must in a great measure determine your Stages. I do not imagine there is any danger of the small-pox on the Road. Wilmington is the most dangerous, but perhaps you can order your stage so as not to lodge at Wilmington, but go on to Chester. I want to get somebody cleaver to accompany you. I hope to send one to you, but if I should not be able, you must make out as well as you can.

11 March.

I will write you by the Post tomorrow. I can't add as I am now call'd on. Take good care of Lydia. I hope no accident will happen. Inclosed you have a few memo. as to pack'g, &c. which I submit to your perusal.

My best regd's to Mr. & Mrs. Purviance Capt Nicholson & Lady, Mr. Luce & family & indeed all friends. My love to Miss Katy, tell her to Ransack the house & leave nothing behind. The Waggoners will attend you at all times. Remember me to all in the family. May every blessing of an Indulgent providence attend you. I most sincerely wish you a good journey & hope I shall soon, very

soon, have the happiness of seeing you with the utmost affection and Love. My Dear Dolly,

I am yours forever JOHN HANCOCK.

Doctor Bond call'd on me, Desir'd his compliments. He will inoculate the child as soon as it comes.

Mrs. Washington got here on Saturday. I went to see her. She told me she Drank tea with you.

Let Harry take the Continental Horse, Saddle & Bridle, that I left at Mr. Purviance's & tell Mr. Purviance to charge his keeping in his public credit. If Capt. Hardy returns the Horse I lent him with the Saddle & Bridle he must also come. Get the heavy waggon off as soon as you can, that they may be here as early as possible, as we shall much want the things after you get here. I have got your bundle safe with the Petticoat, Table Cloth, I have not sent it as I thought you would not want it.

After one hundred and twenty-one years, these two letters, written by John Hancock to his wife on successive days, are brought together. The former, given to Mrs. William Wales by Mrs. Hancock, has never before been published ; the latter has been published in the *New England Magazine*.

PHILADELPHIA, 11th March, 1777.  
9 o'clock Evening.

MY DEAREST DOLLY: No Congress to-day, and I have been as busily employ'd as you can conceive ; quite lonesome & in a domes-tick scituition that ought to be Relieved as speedily as possible, this Relief depends upon you, and the greater Dispatch you make & the Sooner you arrive here, the more speedy will be my relief. I dispatched Harry, McClosky & Dennis this morning with Horses & a Waggon as winged Messengers to bring you along. God grant you a speedy and safe Journey to me. Mr. Pluckrose the Bearer of this going for Mrs. Morris, I have engaged him to proceed on to Baltimore to deliver you this ; I wrote you this morning to bring all the things that came from Boston to this place, but should they be landed before you leave Baltimore, I could wish you would present One Quintal of the Salt Fish, & three or four Loaves of the Sugar to Mr. Sam'l Purviance, or in case they should not be landed, leave directions to have those articles taken out & presented to Mr. P.

with our Compliments. I forget what other things there are, but if you choose to make presents of any of them, I pray you to do it. If in the prosecution of your Journey you can avoid lodging at the head of Elk, I wish you would, it is not so good as the other houses, but this must depend on Circumstances ; I wish to make your journey as agreeable as possible. Should any Gentlemen & Ladies accompany you out of Town do send McClosky forward to order a handsome Dinner and I beg you will pay every Expence, order McClosky to direct the Landlord not to Receive a single farthing from any one but by your Direction, & order a genteel Dinner ; plenty —

If Mr. Thomson cannot be Ready with his Waggons as soon as you are, do not wait, but part of the Guard with an Officer must attend yours, & part be left to guard his, I only wish to have you here, and if you cannot readily attend to the Return of the things borrowed of Mr. Dugan, leave them in the Care of some trusty person to deliver them and pay him for his trouble. Am I not to have another letter from you, surely I must. I shall send off Mr. Rush a Tailor to-morrow or next day to meet you. I wish I could do better for you, but we must Ruff it ; I am so harassed with applications, & have been sending off Expresses to Call all the Members here, that I have as much as I can Turn my hands to ; I don't get down to dinner, Catch a Bit, I write, & then at it again . . . [the writing is illegible here] . . . if it promotes the cause I am happy, do beg Mr. Hilligas to send some money by my Waggons, or I shall be worn out with applications, pray him to Take pity on me, I have lent my own Stock already to stop some mouths.

My respects to Mr. & Mrs. Hilligas, they must excuse my not writing now, I have not seen their son since he deliver'd me your Letter, I asked him to Call, but I suppose he is so engaged with his Connections, he has not had time, I could wish to have it in my power to do him any Service for the great regard I bear to his worthy Parents, I assure you I really love them, I wish they were Coming with you, I could then have a Family where I could with pleasure go, & ask them a hundred Questions, & take a thousand Liberties with them, that I cannot do in any Family now here, I shall Regret their absence, but I am Determin'd to make a point of having them up, for I cannot attend to the applications that are made to me in consequence of the Treasurer's absence ; he must come, I shall come if I have any Influence.

Lucy & Nancy call'd on me, I was busy over papers, we drank a glass together to our Baltimore Friends, I waited on them home,

& return'd to my Cottage ; Jo comes in with a plate of minc'd Veal, that I must stop, I shall take the plate in one hand, the knife in the other, without cloath, or any Comfort, & Eat a little & then to writing, for I have not Room on the Table to put a plate, I am up to the eyes in papers. Adieu for the present.

The Inclosed Letter Lucy just sent me for you.—Supper is over, no Relish, nor shall I till I have you here, & I wish Mr. & Mrs. Hillegas to join us at Supper on Tuesday Eveng, when I shall expect you. I shall have Fires made & everything ready for yor Reception, tho' I don't mean to hurry you beyond measure, do as you like, don't fatigue yourself in Travelling too fast. I keep Josh on trial, he promises Reformation, he knows fully his fate. My best Regards to Mr. & Mrs. Purviance, to Mr. Lay & Family, Capt. Nicholson & wife, Mr. Stewart & wife & all Friends. Tell Mr. Purviance & Capt. Nicholson I shall write them fully in a day or two and Determine all matters to their satisfaction, I am so worried that I cannot even steal time to write them now. Tell Mr. Purviance I Rec'd his Letter by Post and will forward the Letters he Inclos'd me to Boston & Newbury to-morrow. Pray let Dr. Wisenhall know that I Rec'd his Letter, & am much obliged for his attention to the Child, & that I will do everything in my power for the Gentleman who he mentions in his Letter, you will Recompense him for Calling to see the Child.

Remember me to all in the Family. If Nancy inclines to come in the Waggon, & you like it she may Come, do as you like in every instance, my love to Miss Katy, tell her if anything is left behind, I shall have at her, for she Ransack'd when we left Philad'a. & she must do the same now—

The Opinion of some seems to be that the Troops will leave New York, where bound none yet know; one thing I know that they can't at present come here, perhaps they are going to Boston, or up North River. Time will discover. Never fear, we shall get the day finally with the smiles of heaven.

Do Take precious Care of our dear little Lydia.

Adieu. I long to see You; Take Care of Yourself; I am,  
my Dear Girl

Yours most affectionately

JOHN HANCOCK.

Do let Harry Buy & bring 1 or 2 Bushells of Parsnips. Bring all the wine, none to be got here.

John Hancock continued in Philadelphia, with an occasional change, through the summer and in the autumn of the year 1777; but all the time he was struggling with the increasing cares of Congress, and fighting against his physical infirmities, aggravated by the unhealthful atmosphere of the locality. But it is evident that Mrs. Hancock visited Massachusetts during the summer, and that Mr. Hancock wrote several letters to her without a reply. One directed "to Mrs. Hancock at Worcester or Boston" was published in the *N.E. Historical Register* in 1858. It is given here with due credit to its source, as it fills a vacancy at this point, and tells of the determination of the President to resign his position.

YORK TOWN, October 18<sup>th</sup> 1777.

MY DEAR DOLLY,

I am now at this Date & not a line from you. Nor a single word have I heard from you since your Letter by Dodd, immediately upon your arrival at Worcester, which you may judge affects me not a little, but I must submit & will only say that I expected oftener to have been the object of your attention.

This is my sixth Letter to you. The former ones I hope you have Rec'd, by the Completion of those Letters you will I dare say, be apprehensive that my stay here was nearly Determined for the winter & that I had thoughts of soliciting your Return to me. My thoughts on that subject were for a season serious, but various reasons have occurred to induce me to alter my Resolutions, and I am now to inform you that I have come to a fixed Determination to Return to Boston for a short time, & I have notified Congress in form of my Intentions. You will therefore please immediately on Receipt of this to tell Mr. Sprigs to prepare the Light Carriage & Four Horses & himself to be ready to proceed on to Hartford or Fairfield, as I shall hereafter direct to meet me on the Road. If my old Black Horses are not able to perform the journey he must hire Two. The particular time of my setting out & when, (I would have Sprigs come forward) you shall know by Dodd, the Express who I shall Dispatch tomorrow morning. My present Intention is to leave Congress in eight day, but more particulars in my next,

I shall hope & must Desire that you will take a Seat in the carriage & meet me on the Road; which will much advance your health, & you may be assur'd will be highly satisfactory to me, & I have Desired Mr. Bant to accompany you in the carriage & when we meet he can take my sulkey and I return with you in the carriage to town. Mr. Bant must hire or borrow a Servant to attend you on Horseback, as Harry & Ned are both with me, & Joe is not suitable. My dear, I hope your health will admit of your coming with Mr. Bant. I long to see you. I shall close all my Business in three Days & indeed have already nearly finished, & when once I set out shall travel with great speed. Nothing will prevent my seeing you soon, with the leave of providence; but a prevention of passing the North River, I shall push hard to get over, even if I go as far as Albany. I need not tell you there will be no occasion of your writing me after the Receipt of this. My best wishes attend you for every good. I have much to say, which I leave to a Cheerful Evening with you in person.

God Bless you my Dear Dolly

I am

Yours most affectionately

JOHN HANCOCK.

The next letter from Hancock to his wife is treasured by Mrs. William Wales of Dorchester, and reads thus:—

DOVER (WITHIN 60 MILES OF HARTFORD),

*Saturday 1 of Clock,*

8 Nov. 1777.

MY DEAR: I am thus far on my journey to meet you, thank Luck for it. I have gone thro' many Difficulties on the Road, but that I shall not mind. The Remembrance of these Difficulties will vanish when I have the happiness of seeing You. I am still obliged to have my foot wrapp'd up in Baize, but I brave all these things. I hire this person to carry You this letter in Confidence it will meet You at Hartford. I shall get along as fast as I can, but having a party of Light horse with me and a waggon I do not travel so fast as I otherwise should. What if you should on Monday morning set out to meet me, on the Litchfield Road & then if I am not able to reach Hartford that day, I shall have the satisfaction of seeing You on the Road. If you think the ride will be too much I would not have you undertake it, but I hope You will not ride many miles before we shall meet, as I trust Mr. Bant is with You. my Regd's

to him, my best wishes attend him. Remember me to Mrs. Collier, for I suppose you are there. I am sorry I can not take Fairfield in my way, but I crossed so high up it was not possible. I have much to say, but refer all to the happy time when I shall be with you. God bless you — my dear girl, and believe me with sincere affection.

Yours forever,

JOHN HANCOCK.

Mrs. McDagle this moment comes in to the Tavern & is going to dine with us.

For the farewell to Congress see Appendix IV.

It necessarily required some time for Hancock to arrange his affairs so as to start for Boston ; but his plans were well executed, and the returning ex-president was gratified by meeting Mrs. Hancock, and having her company through Connecticut and into Boston.

A Hartford journal of Nov. 19 gives us a glimpse of them as they journey :—

On Friday last passed through this town, escorted by a party of light dragoons, the Hon. John Hancock, President of the American Congress, with his lady, on his way to Boston, after an absence, on public business, of more than two and a half years.

Happily New England was rid of the enemy, and the old family mansion was standing, to which Hancock longed to conduct his family. Alas for the happy parents, that bud of promise had been early blighted, and they made their way to Boston with mingled joy and sorrow.<sup>1</sup>

We may well imagine the reception extended to this notable couple as they returned to Boston.

*“John Hancock is at home,”* were the words reported from house to house ; and many an old neighbor donned his cocked hat, and made haste to grasp the hand of the long-absent man. Honored before, he was doubly hon-

<sup>1</sup> Lydia Henchman Hancock died in infancy.

ored now, and happy in having a noble wife to share in all the demonstrations of the town. With a consciousness of duty well performed, John Hancock must have gone about the town, halting to express regret, as wanton destruction appeared to view, and again to rejoice that Faneuil Hall, the State House, and South Meeting House were left in as good condition as they were. When the long-absent ones gathered once more in the family pew in Brattle-street Church, prayers of thanksgiving went up from many hearts. It was this house which received the bell, a gift from Hancock, that, arriving after the blockade, was brought to Boston by way of Salem. The name of John Hancock, chiselled on a corner-stone of this new meeting-house, had been removed by the angry hands of Gage's soldiers as an expression of contempt for the merchant who had turned against the king. The impression in the front wall, made from a cannon-ball from the Patriot army, was none the less a reminder of the situation than if it had been a scar made by the enemy, as were many that left traces of the occupancy of this new and costly house by the British army.

It was but a few days after the return of John Hancock to Boston that a town-meeting was held, Dec. 8, 1777; and the record of the day says:—

The inhabitants having brought in their votes, for a Moderator: upon sorting them it appeared that the Hon<sup>ble</sup> John Hancock, Esq., was unanimously chosen Moderator of this meeting.

It was voted at this meeting that the thanks of the town be extended to Hancock for the donation of one hundred and fifty cords of wood to the poor of the town in the time of distress. Seven days later, at another

town-meeting, Hancock received the entire vote for moderator.

On Jan. 20, with Hancock in the chair, began the discussion on Articles of Confederation and perpetual union between the United States of America, lately formed and proposed by the Continental Congress.

On March 5, at the meeting for the delivery of the massacre oration, Hancock was in the chair. We may imagine that his heart burned within him as he presided in Faneuil Hall, walked to Old Brick Meeting House, and there listened to his successor, Jonathan William Austin, in the delivery of that annual oration. He must have derived satisfaction from the revival of the confidence of his townsmen, when he took the chair to preside at the annual election of officers on March 9. But at an adjourned meeting on the following day he was absent because of a more important duty in the House of Representatives. On the 27th instant he was again on duty, and no time seems to have been left when he could attend to his private business.

On May 27 the voters assembled for the choice of seven men to represent the town in the General Court. Of the seven John Hancock received the largest vote, being three hundred and thirty-five.

Hancock is now missed for a few weeks from the town-meetings. It might reasonably be supposed that his power of endurance had become exhausted, but the following letter explains the cause:—

YORK TOWN, June 23rd, 1778.

MY DEAREST DOLLY:—Mr. Taylor having agreeably to his wish been Charg'd with some Dispatches for our Commissioners in France, sets off for Boston immediately, & to Sail from thence as Soon as the Packett is ready, by him I embrace the oppor'y of writing you, altho' I wrote you Two Letters the Day before yesterday, &

this is my Seventh Letter, & not one word have I heard from you since your departure from Boston. I am as well as the peculiar scituation of this place will admit, but I can by no means in Justice to myself continue long under such disagreeable Circumstances, I mean in point of Living, the mode is so very different from what I have been always accustom'd to, that to continue it long would prejudice my health exceedingly. This moment the Post arriv'd, and to my very great Surprise & Disappointment not a single line from Boston; I am not much dispos'd to Resent, but it feels exceedingly hard to be slighted and neglect'd by those from whom I have a degree of Right to expect different Conduct; I would have hir'd any one to have sent a few Lines just to let me know the State of your health, but I must Endeavor not to be so Anxious & be as easy as some others seem to be. I will expect no letters nor write any, & then there will be no Disappointment; So much for that. To be serious, I shall write no more till I hear from you, this is agreeable to my former promise. It really is not kind, when you must be sensible that I must have been very anxious about you & the little one. Devote a little time to write me, it will please me much to hear of you, I am sure you are dispos'd to oblige me, & I pray I may not be disappointed in my opinion of your Disposition.

I hope this will meet you tolerably Recover'd from your late Confinement, I wish to hear of your being below Stairs & able to take the care of our Dear little one. I am much concern'd about your improving the fine Season in Riding. I am sorry I did not take hir'd horses & leave you mine, but I beg you spare no Cost in Riding for the Establishment and Continuance of your health, hire horses whenever you are dispos'd to Ride, be as frugal & prudent in other matters as is consistent with our Scituation; I wish to know every Occurrence since my departure, pray be particular as to your health in your Letters & give me an exact state of little John. Does Mrs. Brackett intend continuing with you? I beg she may at least until my Return. My love to her, pray her to take great care of the little fellow. As soon as the City of Philada is cleansed, I judge Congress will remove thither, & as soon as we have got over the important Business now before Congress I shall solicit leave to Return home, as it will not be necessary for so many of our Members to be here, but of this more hereafter.

As I have wrote so many Letters & see no Returns, & as I am called to attend Congress, I must Refer you to Mr. Taylor for every particular relative to our Scituation.

My regards to Mr. & Mrs. Bant, my Brother & Sister, & indeed to all Friends as if nam'd. Remember me to Sprigs and Harry, & all in the Family.

Do let me have frequent Letters, you will oblige me much. My best wishes ever attend you for the highest Felicity, & I am with the utmost Affection and Love.

Yours for ever,

JOHN HANCOCK.

By this letter it appears that a little stranger had been welcomed to the Hancock mansion during these busy months. When the seal of baptism was placed upon the fair brow, his name was declared to be — John George Washington.

On Aug. 6 Hancock was back in Boston, and moderator of the meeting when action was taken in regard to the return of the Loyalists.

The sentiment expressed by the voters was decidedly against it ; and John Hancock was made chairman of a committee to consider the subject, and report.

On the following day Hancock set out on different service. He was appointed on Feb. 8, by the General Court, major-general of the Massachusetts Militia, by virtue of which he now started at the head of the Cadet Company, with other forces, to go to headquarters, to engage in an enterprise in co-operation with the fleet of the French admiral, the Count D'Estaing, against Newport,<sup>1</sup> R.I. This enterprise, for various reasons, was not successful, and Hancock was back in Boston in time to prevent the count from having a cool reception ; which because of misunderstanding would have been an

<sup>1</sup> When Hancock was at Newport a letter was received from Edmund Quincy by his daughter, Dorothy Hancock, in which the grandfather says, "Pray kiss my little Washington for me. I hope he may enjoy the fruits of his parents' patriotism."

unfortunate circumstance, and would have damped the ardor of "our French allies."

At this time efforts were being made in the town to have people curtail in the supplies for their table, because of the scarcity of food and poverty surrounding them, and it was unreasonable to suppose that the town could honor herself in entertaining these guests; but Hancock entertained about forty officers of the fleet at his home each day. One morning an unexpected company arrived at the mansion to partake of the Colonel's viands, when, in the language of Madam Hancock, "the Common was bedizened with lace." The cooks were driven to despair; and the exigency was only met by sending the servants to milk the cows on the Common, regardless of their owners.

The following letter was doubtless written to Mr. Purviance at Baltimore at the time of the reception in honor of the officers of the French fleet:—

[From "Family Memorials," by Edward E. Salisbury.]

MONDAY NOON, 30 Augst, 1779.

DEAR SIR: The Philistines are coming upon me on Wednesday next at Dinner. To be Serious, the Ambassador &c., &c., &c., are to Dine with me on Wednesday, and I have nothing to give them, nor from the present prospect of our Market do I see that I shall be able to get any thing in Town; I must beg the favr of you to Recommend to my Man Harry where he can get some Chickens, Ducks, Geese, Hams, Partridges, Mutton, or any thing that will save my Reputation in a Dinner, and by all means some Butter; Be so good as to help me, and you will much oblige me; is there any good Mellons or Peaches, or any good fruit, near you? Your advice to Harry will much oblige me; Excuse me, I am very troublesome; Can I get a good Turkey; I walkd in Town to-day; I dine on board the French Frigate to-morrow; so you see how I have Recovered.

God bless you; if you see any thing good at Providence, do Buy it for me. I am Your Real friend JOHN HANCOCK.

The banquet given in Faneuil Hall to about five hundred of the French allies was to the credit of Boston, but the expense was borne by John Hancock.

On Tuesday, the 29th, there was another town-meeting; and it is not strange that Hancock was reported as too lame to attend.

## CHAPTER XXI

AGAIN IN GENERAL COURT. SEVERE ON THE LOYALISTS. IN CONVENTION TO FORM THE STATE CONSTITUTION. ELECTED THE FIRST GOVERNOR UNDER THE CONSTITUTION. REV. DR. SAMUEL COOPER PREACHED THE FIRST ELECTION SERMON. CALLS FOR FINANCIAL CONSIDERATION FROM GOVERNMENT. HANCOCK RESUMES BUSINESS. LETTERS TO LONDON. ORDERS FOR FAMILY SUPPLIES.

In the weeks and months that followed, John Hancock was active in the General Court, and frequently appeared in the chair at town-meeting. Being in the two positions, he knew what the people expected of him, and could exert his influence in carrying out their requests.

He was much engaged in considering applications of absentees to be allowed to return to the town and Commonwealth.

While there is fresh in our mind the general forgiveness exercised towards the offenders in other wars, it is hard to understand the acts of the successful party of the Revolution.

They record themselves as follows:—

*Resolved* — that the Inhabitants of this Town will exert themselves to the utmost in supporting the Civil Magistrate in the execution of this Law, that those professed Enemies to our Rights and Liberties, the first fomenters of our present Troubles, who have left this Country and aided the British Tyrant in his worse than savage measures, to deprive Americans of every thing that ought to be held dear and sacred by any People, may not return and enjoy in common, the fruits of what our immortal Patriots, have toil'd and bled to procure us, and in some future time to be again the base and

cursed Instruments of British Seducers, in involving a happy People in confusion and bloodshed, in order to realize the reward, and private advantages held out to such Traitors by the enemies of America.

In 1780 Hancock was elected a member of the convention that framed the Constitution, and upon its adoption was elected governor. He took the oath of office in the Old State House; and then the General Court went to the Old Brick Meeting House, and listened to the "Election Sermon." It was fitting that it should be delivered by the governor's pastor, Rev. Dr. Samuel Cooper.

Hancock continued by annual re-elections until 1785, and after an interim of two years was re-elected, serving from 1787 till his death, Oct. 8, 1793.

This is a period replete with material for the biographer, and a time when Hancock devoted himself largely to public business. (For Inaugural see Appendix V.)

Under date of Sept. 24, 1781, he wrote from Philadelphia to Hon. Robert Morris, financier, saying:—

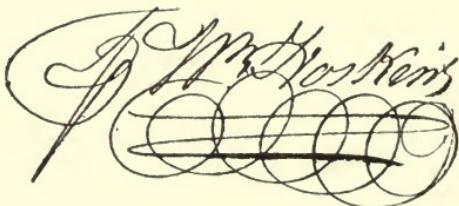
Pray my friend, when will be the properest time for me to be considered for my expenses, while President of Congress? They wrote me on the subject some two years ago, but I waived troubling them, knowing the delicacy of their situation. Indeed, I kept no account of my expenses; nor had I time for it, as you well know how my time was engrossed, and the labors and fatigue I underwent, and the expenses I must have necessarily incurred. I can speak plain to you; confident I am that fifteen hundred pounds sterling would not amount to the expenses I incurred as president.

In this I think I merit consideration, more especially as grants have been made to all my successors.

There is no evidence that Hancock ever received any compensation for his services in the important position of President of the Continental Congress.

We now return to the Letter-book, from which we have wandered to gather up some of the missing links with which to make a connection, and make clear a letter of 1783. In this is seen an attempt at a renewal of friendship silent for nearly ten years. In the midst of his public cares his infirmities have increased, until, at times, life is a burden. We see that Gage's soldiers did not spare his business-house, although they did not destroy his dwelling. It is apparent by this letter that he had already learned the truth of Swift's utterance, "Censure is the tax a man pays to the public for being eminent." The letter affords an intimation of the severing of family ties by the departure of that class of people derisively called Tories. William Bowes, Hancock's cousin and trusted friend, left the country in debt to his faithful friend and creditor; but friendship did not incline the merchant to forgiveness.

Mr. Hoskins, to whom the reader is introduced, was a business-man of Boston, employed to adjust the many



accounts brought suddenly to a close at the opening of the war. He was a Mason in St. Andrews, and also the Grand Lodge; and as secretary of that sent out the notices for the funeral of General Warren (says Eleanor Hoskins Waitt, a lineal descendant).

Hancock proudly announces to his friend Scott that he has a little boy. But while we read his cheerful words, we can but glance forward to the winter of 1787,

when that fond hope was blasted by the sudden death of the boy, caused by an accident while skating.

BOSTON, Nov. 14, 1783.

DEAR SCOTT: I have been favored with your letter accompanied with an Hamper of Porter & Two cheeses, for which I thank you very kindly. They were excellent. I should have much sooner wrote you had not ill health & my public associations prevented, but, thank God, I am now much recruited. I am rebuilding my store upon the Dock which the Brittons burned to ashes when they were in possession of Boston. I shall compleat it early in the spring when I purpose to enter the Commercial Line upon the same plan that I have pursued.

I have for ten years past devoted myself to the concern of the Public. I have not the vanity to think that I have been of very extensive service in our late unhappy contest, but one thing I can truly boast, I sat out upon honest Principles & strictly adhered to them to the close of the contest, and this I defy malice itself to controvert. I have lost many thousand sterl<sup>g</sup>, but, thank God, my country is saved and by the smile of Heaven I am a free & Independent man, and now my friend I can pleasantly congratulate you on the return of Peace which gives a countenance to retire from Public Life & enjoy the sweets of Calm, Domestic Retirement & Pursue Business merely for my own amusement.

I intended that Mr. Hoskins, a gentleman Conversant in Business & who for eighteen months past has been engaged in the settlement of my former Books, should have taken passage with Mr. Foster, but I could not get ready. I purpose him to go by the next opportunity which will be in about three weeks. He will take my Invoices, and I mean him to examine accts. in England that have been settled, for I rather think I shall be a gainer. Certain I am many commissions will be discovered that ought to have been carried to my credit. I mean by Mr. Hoskins to include you in general power of attorney. The ship Thames, that I was 3-16 Invested in, I have not heard a single line about. I have a Bill of £500 that I drew for her last cargo that has never been paid & many other Bills that have not been paid, now laying with Barnards, Harrison & Co., & the late Mr. Haley, that as Mr. Hoskins will be a stranger in London, I must desire your assistance to him for which you shall be satisfied. I mean one part of my plan of Business to be one ship & one only, provided you can meet with one to your mind in

the River & you to take the Command of her. I had rather you would take a concern in her. I mean this vessel to bring out my goods in the spring & to be kept running, if this is agreeable to you. I wish you would be upon the lookout till Hoskins arrives and you may pass upon one if you see it. I would not have one above 130 or 140 tons. I however leave it to you. I am at a loss who Hoskins should apply to in London. I have a great respect for Mr. Harrison, tho' we differ in Principles. Does he carry on Business? I have no favors to ask, but I confess I should like you should drop a hint to him on the subject. If any vessel should be sailing for this place after you receive this, do give me your opinion.

I shall get Mr. Hoskins away as speedily as possible. & the inclosed Letter to Mrs. Haley, I request you will be kind enough to deliver with your own hand, with my best Requests to wait till she reads it. Having heard that she proposes a visit to America in the Spring I have in my Letter, Solicited her acceptance of apartments in my house, during her pleasure. You can inform her of my Situation; perhaps it is nearly as pleasant as any in town. Do urge her acceptance, she shall be as unceremonious as she pleases, you know me. I have Carriages & Servants at her service, in my power. Perhaps if you should succeed in a vessel she might approve of the opportunity of taking passage with you. I have mentioned to Mrs. Haley that I have requested you to ask her opinion & advice as to a few things I have wrote you for family use, & enclosed you have a memo., which after taking every necessary advice, I could wish you would put in hand; do consult Mrs. Scott & Mr. William Foster as to the Post Chariot. I have not time to write Mr. Eliot, but will by Mr. Hoskins, as I am now busily employed in settling up my public concerns. I am determined in the course of this month to resign my command of this Commonwealth & return to private life, after the many fatigues I have gone thro'. Do ask Mr. Samuel Eliot if he does not really approve my Determination, as I leave the Government under the public Conviction that a much better man be my successor & I am really worn out with public business.

I shall defer what I have farther to say until Mr. Hoskins' departure, by him I shall send money or Bills; give me the earliest notice of your intentions, whether you consent to go into the old line or not, because my plans will be materially effected. Write me by various opportunities. I shall make Mr. Harrison the offer of my Business. It is at his pleasure to accept or reject. My pay will be acceptable to others if not to him. I do not mean to court, but

I have a friendship for him, & if it is agreeable to him it will be to me.

I mean even to close my acct. once a year & when I cannot do that, I will quit. I wish to lay aside all diversity of sentiment for with me that circumstance, neither in my public Line nor private situation has occasioned a Breach of friendship.

God bless you, my good friend, my regard to your worthy family, in which Mrs. Hancock joins me. I have a fine little boy, pray what has become of that ungrateful, ungentlemanly base fellow of a William Bowes? There is no Balm in Gilead for him. I would not thus write of any one else, & I pray God however to forgive him. I wish him no ill in the other world. I shall have my Recompense for what he Rob'd me of, out of what he left here. I am

Your real friend

J. H.

By the enclosed letter to Mrs. Haley it is learned that George Haley, Hancock's agent at the opening of the war, has died, and his widow has forwarded the unsettled account.

*November 14, 1783.*

TO MRS. MARY HALEY —

London.

My public associations added to my ill state of health, have until the present moment prevented my replying to your very polite letter of the 19th April last, which I have had the Honor to Receive. I feel myself greatly obliged to your generous & truly noble expression, and do with a sincere & warm heart congratulate you upon the happy return of Peace. In your letter was inclosed my acct. with the late George Haley Esq. The final settlement of the acct. I shall direct Mr. Hoskins upon his arrival to wait upon you to Effect; he is a gentleman who has been some time engaged in the settlement of my affairs, previous to the Introduction of our unhappy Contest, & I fully intended to have been ready for his departure in this Ship, but fear shall be obliged to defer it until the next, which will be soon, by whom I shall write you again. In consequence of your letter, I have drawn upon you the following bills, which you will please to honor. . . .

I have Rec'd. great satisfaction upon perusing a Letter from you that Judge Wendall was so obliging as to communicate to me, as I found it was your intention to visit America upon the return of the

pleasant season. I do assure you — Madam, I shall be happy to receive you here, and give me leave, with the utmost sincerity to request that you will be so obliging, as upon your arrival here, to permit me to conduct you to my Home, where you may rely you shall meet from Mrs. Hancock & myself an unceremonious and cheerful reception, and where your abode, during your pleasure shall be made as agreeable as any in Town, of which Capt. Scott or any gentleman from this way can inform you, and I kindly hope you will gratify me in my Request, at least until you meet with a more agreeably accommodated scituation. I inclose this to Capt. Scott, whom I have requested to deliver it to you. I have wrote to Scott upon the subject of purchasing a vessel for me, and he to take the command, as I propose again, engaging in Business & wish to have Scott in a running vessel & perhaps if Scott succeeds that opportunity might not be unfavorable to your wishes as to a passage, he is really an excellent Ship master & a gentleman I have a great regard for. I have taken the freedom to ask Scott to apply to you for your opinion & advice in a few articles I want for my family use. I know your goodness will pardon the Liberty.

It will afford me at all times much pleasure to have it in my power to render you or your Connections any Service, and I beg you will believe me with Sentiments of Real Regard & Esteem —

Dear Madam

Your much obed't. & humble serv't.

J. H.

*It will afford me at all times  
much pleasure to have it in my power to render  
you or your connections ~~any~~ service; and I beg  
you will believe me with Sentiments of Real  
Regard & Esteem,*

*Dear Madam,*

*You much Obed't hum'ly Yours*

*To M<sup>r</sup>. Mary Hayley - London*

To CAPT. JAMES SCOTT:—

Memo. of Sundry articles that Mr. Hancock is in want of for his own use of service & which he wishes Capt. Scott would put in hand after advising with Mrs. Haley and Mrs. Harrison & Mrs. Sam'l Eliot. In case Mr. Hoskins should not be arrived timely for

the things to be prepared so as Mr. Hancock may receive them in the spring. A very neat & light Post Chaise or Chariot. Elegantly neat, not made expensive by external Tawdry ornaments. The coachman's seat to unship and ship, with a Pole & fills, so as occasionally to have the servants on the seat, or to ride Postilion; the box inside of the carriage to draw out, a good Lock & key to it, a Lamp at each side of the carriage. A handsome travelling trunk, made exactly to fit, with Leather straps to fasten it, a strong Lock & key. To be Lined with Crimson Velvet, if not thought too heavy. However Mr. Hancock submits to better taste than his own in Mrs. Haley's and others. Capt. Scott will find Inclosed Mr. Hancock's arms, which he would have neatly Introduced on the carriage, with the crest on the other part of the carriage & the motto subjoined. The ground paint work of the carriage to be stone yellow, that being the color all his carriages bear. In short Mr. Hancock wants to have executed a very neat little carriage. Elegant not fine. A set of Spare Glasses, a set of spare springs. Blinds set with glass. A set of Best Pewter, if Mr. Ellis is living, I beg he may make them. 6 Doz. very best Pewter Plates, with their proportion of proper sizes, oval or long dishes for Saturday's Salt Fish. You know how it used to be. My crest to be engraved in each Dish and Plate. Mr. Hancock thinks Capt. Scott, Mr. Harrison & Mr. Samuel Eliot must have a perfect recollection of his large Parlor.

The furniture has stood from the finishing of the Room to the present moment, but is now much worn & stands in need of a Recruit, at least Mr. Hancock's son will want it, he therefore Incloses you the dimensions of the Room, windows, &c. & requests Capt. Scott will consult with Mrs. Haley, as to the Kind of Furniture that is most fashionable. I would not have it Yellow as my chamber over that room is furnished with that Color. I think a silk & worsted furniture will be good enough. The window curtains to be made to draw up. The window cushions of the same, and twelve neat stuff back chairs to be covered with the same & a sophia of the same. I wish the room to be tolerably decent, in its furniture, but not extravagantly so. I leave it with my friends to determine. You have also inclosed the dimensions of two Bed Chambers for each of which I want Wilton carpets; do let them be neat. The British Officers who possessed my house totally defaced & Ruined all my carpets. I must submit. I wish to have a handsome silver tea urn, whether wrought or unwrought. I beg the favor of Mrs. Haley's advice.

## CHAPTER XXII

HANCOCK MANSION AND GARDENS. NOTED GUESTS ENTERTAINED. HOUSEHOLD SUPPLIES. MRS. JOHN HANCOCK'S APPAREL. HANCOCK COACH. GOVERNOR JOHN HANCOCK PAYS THE DEBT TO NATURE. FUNERAL OF THE FIRST GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS. MRS. DOROTHY HANCOCK MARRIES CAPT. JAMES SCOTT. MADAME DOROTHY SCOTT AND GENERAL LAFAYETTE.

THE supplies ordered from England, in connection with the concluding letter to Capt. Scott, naturally call the reader's attention to the Hancock mansion; and without pausing to lament because of its destruction, we content ourselves with what others have written of the house and contents. (Appendix VI.)

The building was of stone, built in the substantial manner favored by the wealthier Bostonians. The walls were massive; a balcony projected over the entrance-door, upon which opened a large window of the second story. The corners and window openings were ornamented with Braintree stone, and the tiled roof was surmounted by a balustrade. Dormer windows jutted out from the roof, from which might be obtained a beautiful and extensive view. A low stone wall, on which was placed a light wooden fence, enclosed the grounds. The gate-posts were also of stone. A paved walk and a dozen stone steps conducted to the mansion, situated on rising ground at a little distance back from the street. Before the door was a wide stone slab, worn by the feet

of the distinguished owner and his illustrious guests. A hall of wood, sixty feet in length, designed for festive occasions, was joined to the northern wing. At the right of the entrance to the governor's mansion was the reception-room, with furniture of bird's-eye maple covered with rich damask. Out of this opened the dining-hall referred to, in which Hancock gave the famous breakfast to Admiral D'Estaing and his officers. Opposite this was a smaller apartment, the usual dining-room of the family. Next adjoining was the china-room and offices, with coach-house and barn behind. At the left of the entrance was a second saloon, or family drawing-room, the walls covered with crimson paper. The upper and lower halls were hung with pictures of game, hunting-scenes, and other subjects. Most of the furniture, wall-papers, and draperies were imported from England by Thomas Hancock. Passing through the hall, a flight of steps led through the garden to a small summer-house near Mt. Vernon Street. The grounds were laid out in ornamental flower-beds, bordered with box. There were box-trees of large size, with a great variety of fruit-trees ; among these were several immense mulberry-trees. Thomas Hancock, with others of his time, was interested in the culture of the silk-worm. The trees and shrubs of his garden were imported by him, and frequently replenished by John Hancock, whose first order for garden-seeds and trees by Marshall was on Nov. 17, 1764.

To this attractive home John Hancock conducted his bride, Dorothy Quincy, when returning from Philadelphia. The former mistress of the mansion, Madame Lydia Hancock, who left it in 1775, died the following year ; and we doubt not her successor was the one whom

she had selected for the place.<sup>1</sup> Mrs. John Hancock proved herself well fitted for the position, and through her native grace and dignity performed well her part at the reception of D'Estaing, Lafayette, Washington, Brissot, Lords Stanley and Wortley, and other noted guests.

We have seen by the Letter-book that John Hancock enjoyed good table furnishings; he took peculiar pride in the gift of a table-cloth and napkins, "the most genteel in the country." The six dozen pewter plates bearing the family crest were much to his liking; and it was the duty of his household to see that this pewter was kept at the highest point of brightness, and used every day, to the exclusion of the valuable India china-set also owned by him. He preferred to use the pewter, because as he said, "the contents of the plates were not so apt to slide off," and the use of them caused no clatter in contact with knives and forks. He had a large quantity of silver, much of which bore the tower stamp of England. He had four dozen silver forks, matched with

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Lydia Hancock left her home during the siege, and never returned to enjoy it. The following embodies the facts, read on a tombstone in the old burying-ground at Fairfield, Conn.:—

THIS STONE ERECTED  
BY THADDEUS BURR AND EUNICE BURR  
TO THE MEMORY OF THEIR DEAR FRIEND  
MRS. LYDIA HANCOCK,  
RELICT of the HON<sup>BLE</sup> THOS. HANCOCK, ESQR.,  
OF BOSTON,  
whose Remains lie here interred, having retired to this town from  
the calamities of war, during the Blockade of her native  
city in 1775. Just on her return to the reenjoy-  
ment of an ample fortune.  
ON APRIL 15<sup>th</sup> A.D. 1776  
She was seized with apoplexy and closed a life of  
unaffected piety, universal benevolence  
and extensive charity.

the same number of silver spoons, also several tankards of different sizes ; one, holding a gallon or more, he devoted exclusively to hot punch. This tankard he called Solomon Townsend, in honor of a friend. He also had a large silver porter-cup, holding two quarts or more, with two massive handles, intended probably to be passed from guest to guest, that each might quaff in turn from the same cup. Much of the silver and china was ornamented with the Hancock coat-of-arms. His mother-of-pearl whist counters were also similarly engraved. Even the best furnished dining-table of these days would not surpass Hancock's when glistening with four elaborate silver chafing-dishes, four silver butter-boats, asparagus-tongs, and six heavy silver candlesticks, with snuffers and tray to match. Silver finger-bowls and salvers of the same material were at command. The viands were in keeping with the table-ware ; and to the hot punch may be attributed much of the suffering which racked the body of not only John Hancock, but his honored uncle Thomas, the founder of the fortune so freely used for others.

Hancock kept the annual spring Fast on codfish. He had a peculiar ambition to secure the first salmon of the season, for which he paid a guinea. The salt-fish dinners served every Saturday on the pewter platters were peculiar to the house, and free to all who saw fit to come and partake. We have seen that when in Philadelphia Hancock would have his Boston codfish, and counted it an honor to contribute some to his entertainer at Baltimore.

The Letter-book has afforded us hints of the costume of the family, particularly of the master of the house ; but nothing was denied Mrs. Hancock, yet she refused

a dress from the piece of crimson velvet of which his coat and vest were made, it being too heavy for her slight figure. His white silk embroidered waistcoat contrasted well with the scarlet garment, while the silk stockings and handkerchiefs from London added to the immaculate dress of the merchant-prince.



SCARLET VELVET COAT AND  
EMBROIDERED WAISTCOAT.

(Seen in Old State House.)

Mrs. Hancock's wedding-fan from Paris was of white kid, painted with appropriate designs; but it did not create the envy of the Boston belles, for its first appearance was in the Connecticut home where the nuptials were celebrated. We may well imagine that Boston afforded nothing rich enough for the babes, Lydia and John, when they made their advent to the family.

The christening-

robe from England was of embroidered India muslin, with stomacher and trimmings of thread lace. Mrs. Hancock sent at the same time for a hat of lavender-colored silk, trimmed with flowers, and a mantilla of muslin lined with silk to match the hat. She gave six dollars a yard for a piece of muslin in India before it was cut from the loom. Fragments of these fabrics, with the tailor's scraps of the scarlet coat, are still treasured by Mrs. William Wales, a grandniece of Mrs. Hancock.

Viewed from the present standpoint of society, the Hancocks would not be alone in their elegant apparel; and the fine dinners of the house, whether of venison

or codfish, served on pewter or silver, were but a little in advance of modern Boston.

The post-chaise, or chariot, with its appointments so carefully ordered from London, which caused the many to halt as it rolled through the narrow streets of Boston town, is more than matched by many carriages that roll daily over the very ground where Hancock reigned supreme when this republic had its birth. All this splendor and luxury could not disguise the fact that John Hancock was a debtor to nature; in fact, it hastened the settlement of the account, which occurred on Oct. 8, 1793.

[From "Lives of American Merchants."]

To him, among others, we owe our independence, our liberty, our prosperity, and our national greatness, and the high rank we hold among the nations of the earth. We are indebted to him for the aid which in our Revolutionary struggle was derived from the arms and influence of France; for it was his generosity that furnished the means, when our country was utterly destitute of money or credit, to fit out the Alliance frigate to carry Colonel Laurens, our first accredited diplomatic agent, to the court of the French king, through whose influence and exertions during the darkest period of our Revolutionary history, the co-operation of France was secured, and her assistance extended to help us break the chains of that political slavery with which we were bound.

The funeral service was attended with pomp and ceremony, as may be inferred from the announcement in regard to the order of procession which is given on the following page.

After the funeral demonstration of that autumn day, 1793, it seems strange that a full century should elapse before the State of Massachusetts should pay her debt of gratitude by placing a fitting memorial at the grave of her first governor.

ORDER OF PROCESSION  
FOR THE  
Funeral of the late Governor Hancock.

FUNERAL ESCORT

Under the Command of Brigadier-General Hull.

OFFICERS OF THE MILITIA with side arms.

JUSTICES OF THE PEACE.

JUDGES OF PROBATE.

JUSTICES OF THE COURT OF COMMON PLEAS.

ATTORNEY GENERAL AND TREASURER.

JUSTICES OF THE SUPREME JUDICIAL COURT.

MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

MEMBERS OF THE SENATE.

SHERIFF OF SUFFOLK WITH HIS WAND.

MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL.

<i>Quartermaster.</i>	<b>HIS HONOR</b>	<i>Secretary.</i>
<i>Adjutant-General.</i>	<i>THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR.</i>	

*Aid-de-camp  
to the  
deceased.*

The pall  
supported  
by



six of the  
oldest  
Counsellors.

*Aid-de-camp  
to the  
deceased.*

RELATIONS

VICE PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.

JUDGES AND SECRETARIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

GENTLEMEN HERETOFORE COUNSELLORS AND SENATORS OF  
MASSACHUSETTS.

FOREIGN MINISTERS AND CONSULS.

THE PRESIDENT AND CORPORATION.

THE PROFESSORS AND OTHER INSTRUCTORS OF  
HARVARD COLLEGE.

SELECTMEN AND TOWN CLERK.

OVERSEERS OF THE POOR AND TOWN TREASURER.

MINISTERS OF THE GOSPEL.

MEMBERS OF THE ANCIENT AND HONOURABLE  
ARTILLERY COMPANY.

COMMITTEE OF BRATTLE STREET CHURCH OF WHICH  
THE DECEASED WAS A MEMBER.

OTHER CITIZENS AND STRANGERS.

## ORDER OF MARCH.

The Procession will move from the Mansion House of the late Governor Hancock, across the Common and down Frog Lane to Liberty Pole, through the Main Street, and round the State House, up Court Street—and from thence to the place of interment. Colonel Tyler will superintend the forming of the Procession of Officers which precede the Corpse, and Colonel Waters that of the other citizens who follow.

It is desired that the Procession may move four a breast when practicable.

*October 14, 1793.*

It detracts from the honor displayed by this pageant to learn that the funeral charges were paid from the estate of the deceased.

On Feb. 3, 1894, the Legislature of Massachusetts passed the following:—

*Resolved*, that there be allowed and paid out of the treasury of the Commonwealth a sum not exceeding three thousand dollars, to be expended under the direction of the Governor and Council, for the purpose of erecting a suitable memorial over the grave of Gov. John Hancock in the Granary burying-ground in Boston.

The work having been completed, there was a public service of dedication on Sept. 10, 1896. There being no direct descendant of John Hancock, the honor of unveiling the monument was conferred upon a great-grand-niece, Miss Mary Elizabeth Wood, who was conducted for the purpose to the Hancock tomb by Governor Roger Wolcott. The exercises were concluded in Park-street Church, because of the falling rain of that afternoon. Governor Wolcott said:—

It has long been a matter of comment, and possibly of regret to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, that the grave of her first governor, a man who played so large a part in the Revolutionary period, remained in the heart of the principal city of the Commonwealth unmarked by any enduring monument.



HANCOCK MONUMENT IN GRANARY BURYING GROUND.

(Erected by the State of Massachusetts to her first Governor.)

This monument will be one of those spots to which the feet of pilgrims will be directed. It will be one of the memories which those who visit us from other States or other countries will bear away with them from historic Boston and historic Massachusetts, and as the hurrying crowd passes by the sidewalk, I hope that it will speak eloquently for all years to come of patriotic and loyal service to the Commonwealth. — GOVERNOR WOLCOTT.

In accepting the monument in behalf of the Commonwealth, the Governor further said :

“ As we look back upon that period of revolution, to the events that led up to it, there is one figure, among others, that stands with peculiar significance to the public mind. That figure is John Hancock. A man of dignity of presence, fond of elaborate ceremonial,

elegant in his attire, courtly in his manner, a man of education and great wealth for that time, and a man who threw himself heart and soul into the patriotic duties of the hour. I think we especially connect his name and memory with three acts. In the first place, we remember that in the proclamation of amnesty there were two names excepted; one was that of John Hancock, the other that of Samuel Adams. We remember that when Paul Revere rode out into Middlesex County to warn the farmers of the approach of British troops, John Hancock and Samuel Adams were slumbering quietly in the little village of Lexington, and that their capture was accounted as important to the British cause as the capture or destruction of the ammunition which they were sent out to seize.

We especially remember John Hancock again as President of the Continental Congress, and as the first to sign, in his bold, fine signature, his name to that immortal declaration, in which those who signed it pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor to the cause of liberty.

As it was through the Letter-book that the reader was introduced to the sailing-master James Scott, he has a right to an answer to the natural inquiry, What of the family friend whose faithful service contributed so much to the advantage of John Hancock, and to whom he penned his last recorded letter of the volume?

Bereft of his companion, James Scott found a sympathizer in the high-bred, courtly woman who, while in her prime, had been left a widow; and on July 28, 1796, they were joined in marriage by Rev. Peter Thacher, D.D., pastor of Brattle-street Church. She outlived her second husband many years, resided for a time at Portsmouth, N. H., and later on Federal Street in Boston. As Madam Scott she delighted the people by her unfailling memory and brilliant powers of conversation. Hospitality was a characteristic of hers at her Federal-street home. Her table was always laid with an extra plate for any one who might call, and four-score years did

not rob her of her native dignity. Says Mrs. William Wales, "I often ran into Aunt Dorothy's from school at noon intermission, when the extra plate was at my

service, and the venerable woman ready to greet me with a smile."

In her advanced years Madam Scott received a call from Lafayette when in this country. Those who witnessed the hearty interview spoke of it with admiration. The once youthful chevalier and the unrivalled belle met as if only a summer had passed since they had enjoyed so-



MADAM SCOTT. (Mrs. John Hancock.)

cial interviews during the perils of the Revolution.

An incident confusing to the genealogist is found in the Scott family register. Betsey, daughter of James Scott and Mary Richardson, marries John Hancock, nephew of the patriot, son of Ebenezer and Elizabeth Lowell.

## CHAPTER XXIII

## FINANCIAL RETROSPECT

NEARLY a century and a half had passed since the settlement of Plymouth, but there was not a bank in the country, and trade was little removed from its primitive form of barter in the rural districts ; and at the seaport of Boston there was a great scarcity of money.

Generation after generation had come upon the stage, each living very much as that which had preceded it. There were busy brains and willing hands, forests of valuable timber, boundless stretches of fertile soil, seas teeming with fish, and mines of fabulous riches. The people realized keenly that the development of the natural resources of their country was hampered, and its industrial growth retarded, by the lack of available funds. Doubtful currency schemes found ready acceptance, and caused much suffering. The raw material was here, but the capital to turn it to account was not at hand. While it may be difficult to appreciate the situation from the standpoint of our advanced methods, somewhat of the same conditions exist in the newer sections of our country, where may be detected a similar unrest and complaint.

Even men of consequence, to use the language of Hancock, were compelled, through the scarcity of money, to resort to expedients not altogether pleasant. Hancock frequently apologized to Messrs. Barnards &

Harrison for drawing on them at the time of making his shipments. In order to be able to pay for goods on this side, which he had purchased and was about to ship, he was frequently compelled to draw immediately, thus giving his London agent little or no time to dispose of the goods before he was called upon for the money.

To-day this difficulty might be obviated by drawing time drafts, payable two or three months hence, which would be discounted at some bank, and when nearly due forwarded for collection.

As many of the battles of the Revolutionary period were financial rather than sanguinary, the financier of the present can but realize that he was represented in that complex chapter of our American history. There was no safe deposit vault in Provincial Boston; hence Hancock, Bromfield, Rotch, and their associates, in scarlet cloaks, bag-wigs, and cocked hats, were obliged to deposit their guineas in the wrought-iron chest with massive hinge and clumsy lock. As the old-time merchants paced up and down King Street, or gathered in Hancock's counting-room to discuss the prospect of the market, their inseparable pocket companions were the gold snuff-box and the key to the iron locker.

The Hancock repository was sufficient for all demands until D'Estaing arrived with the sacks of coin from France to relieve our distressed country, when the only safe place for King Louis's "crowns" was the home of the deputy paymaster, Ebenezer Hancock, with a guard of soldiers surrounding it.

These richly attired merchants were the bankers of the time, and to them and their strongholds men of less "consequence" resorted for financial accommodation. In December, 1767, Oliver Wendell comes to John Han-

cock, and purchases goods for his family by giving in exchange his personal note for one year. Then comes Madam Warren with her pension certificate, which Hancock readily takes, and in exchange for it passes out guineas from his iron locker. He then forwards the certificate to London by his next ship for collection.

Money was lent to the Province treasury for periods ranging from one to three years, Hancock acting as fiscal agent for his foreign correspondents in negotiating such loans. There were investments in mortgages on real estate. In this business also Hancock was helpful to his clients. The system of credits, which we are inclined to regard as a modern institution, we find to have been highly developed. Thus John Hancock kept a regular account with the house of Barnards & Harrison of London. When goods were shipped abroad, we find the letter of advice accompanying the consignment, if it were to this firm, simply requested that the "neat" proceeds be credited to the Hancock account. If the goods were consigned to some other firm, they were accompanied by a letter of advice stating that a draft had been drawn upon the house to which they were consigned, through the house of Barnards & Harrison.

Very little coin changed hands between America and England. When Hancock ordered goods from a port other than London, the purchasing-agent was directed to collect of Barnards & Harrison of London, as witnesseth the case of the wine shipped from Madeira in the famous Liberty.

When it was desired to transfer property from America to England, as in the settlement of the estate of a government official on this side, Hancock, as adminis-

trator, or under power of attorney, sold the property, and purchased bills of exchange on London, which were then forwarded. General Gage's exchequer bills were used for this purpose.

Hancock bought exchange, that is, cashed or gave credit for drafts on London to those who fortunately had funds in England.

The young officers of the king's army were frequent callers on John Hancock, who accommodated them when they were in need of funds from home. As the English visitor of to-day steps into the office of Messrs. Brown Brothers, or Kidder, Peabody, and Co., with his letter of credit, or draft on England, so his predecessor called at Hancock's in Provincial days.

John Hancock and other far-seeing merchants of the time detected the impending ruin of the country when the Stamp Act was passed. It was aimed directly at commerce, in which lay the key to the situation ; and it was to them and their correspondents in London that more credit was due for the repeal of that Act than was due to those who made the recorded speeches.

This required the most positive decision, which the letters show Hancock to have exercised ; and in the quiet of his counting-room he penned his most fervent appeals to the merchants abroad to use their influence upon Parliament. His actions were those of one who believed, "The pen is mightier than the sword." While he often resorted to strong language, he never lost all hope in the power of appeal until hostilities were actually begun ; and then he was ready to resort to arms. He would have made his way from the parsonage to Lexington Common, on the morning of April 19, 1775, and shown his ability to handle the firelock, had he not

been prevented by his associates, who believed he had a more important mission.

The opening of the war closed the books of these merchants. Hancock had many running accounts with foreign merchants, but they could not be settled until peace was restored; and it was nearly ten years before Hancock undertook to adjust his accounts. Then he was so burdened with public service that he employed William Hoskins to act for him, both in this country and abroad.

There had been great changes during the period of the war, and he was honest in his statement that he had lost thousands of pounds sterling; but he did not regret it, as long as his country had been saved from a tyrant's domination.

The foregoing are some of the obscure facts revealed by the Letter-book, which, viewed with an unprejudiced eye, must convince the reader that the patriot merchants of the Revolutionary period fought as truly as the men of military affairs; and their names should be honored to-day with a place upon the immortal scroll of the heroes of the Revolution.



## APPENDIX I

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THE following history of the Longman Publishing House was obtained from London after the body of this volume had passed through the press.

THOMAS LONGMAN, the founder of the firm, was born in Bristol in 1699. On the ninth day of June, 1716, eight years after the death of his father, Ezekiel Longman, Thomas Longman was apprenticed for the term of seven years to John Osborn, stationer and bookseller, "At the Oxford Arms," Lombard Street, London.

The firm of Osborn is known to have been highly respected and prosperous, though but little other information is obtainable. One of their earliest books, it may be well noted, was a volume of "*Psalms and Hymns and Spiritual Songs of the Old and New Testament* for the use, edification, and comfort of the Saints in publick and private, especially in New England," indicating, perhaps, one of the earliest connections in the bookselling way with the American Colonies.

JOHN OSBORN had two children,—a son, John, and a daughter, Mary, whom Thomas Longman married in 1723. In Paternoster Row, at this time, had for some years been established the business of one William Taylor, stationer and bookseller, soon to become famous as the publisher of *Robinson Crusoe*; and over his door hung the "Sign of the Ship." In the next house was the shop of the brothers Churchill at the "Sign of the Black Swan."

TAYLOR purchased the latter business in 1719, and the consolidation was known as "The Sign of the Ship and Black Swan in Paternoster Row." Upon the death of Mr. Taylor, in August, 1724, W. Innys and John Osborn, "as executors of W. Taylor, on their part, sold to Thomas Longman, on his part, all of the household goods and books, bound and in sheets, of Mr. Taylor in Paternoster Row." Thomas Longman thus became owner of the business, which has remained in the hands of his family from that date. In

1725 the firms of Osborn and Longman were united; and in 1726 they as partners published their first book, the first edition of *Sherlock's Voyages*. This was soon followed by many works of educational and scientific interest. The death of the Osborns, father and son, soon followed. In 1754 Thomas Longman took into partnership his namesake, Thomas, the son of his brother Henry; and for many years afterward the imprint was "Printed for T. & T. Longman." Thomas Longman (1st) died June 18, 1755.

THOMAS LONGMAN (2d) was twenty-four years of age when he became a partner of his uncle, and for forty-three years he carried on the business. Under his management many valuable copyrights were secured, and the business increased until it included important connections with the Colonies and America.

Thomas Longman (2d) had three sons, one of whom, T. Norton Longman, born in 1771, became in 1792 partner with his father. In 1792 Mr. Thomas Brown, whose father had been for some years in the house, was admitted to partnership, and Mr. Owen Rees entered the firm, in which for forty years he continued in active interest. Thomas Longman (2d) died in 1797. The years from 1797 to the death of Thomas Norton Longman, in 1842, saw the publication by the house of Lindley Murray's *Grammar*, Wordsworth's, Southey's, Coleridge's, and Moore's poems, the reconstructed Chambers's *Cyclopædia*, called Rees's *New Cyclopædia*, for many years the standard, and of several of the *Waverley Novels*. Partners at this time were Messrs. Orme, Hurst, and later B. E. Green. In 1839 Mr. Thomas Longman (b. 1804) and Mr. William Longman (b. 1813), sons of Thomas Norton Longman, entered the firm, and directed the business until the death of the latter in 1877 and of the former in 1879. It was during Mr. Thomas Longman's management that Macaulay's works were published.

The present members of the firm in London are Messrs. Thomas Norton Longman and George Longman (sons of Mr. Thomas Longman), and Messrs. Charles J. Longman and Hubert H. Longman (sons of Mr. William Longman), and Mr. W. E. Green.

## APPENDIX II

EXTRACTS FROM HANCOCK'S MASSACRE ORATION, MARCH,  
1774.

I HAVE, from the earliest recollections of youth, rejoiced in the felicity of my fellow-men ; and have considered it as the indispensable duty of every member of society to promote, as far as in him lies, the prosperity of every individual of his species, but more especially of the community to which he belongs ; and also, as a faithful subject of the state, to use his utmost endeavours to detect and defeat every traitorous plot which its enemies may devise for its destruction.

Security to the persons and property of the governed, is so obviously the design and end of civil government, that to attempt a logical demonstration of it, would be like burning tapers at noon day, to assist the sun in enlightening the world ; and it cannot be either virtuous or honourable to attempt to support institutions of which this is not the great and principal basis.

Some boast of being friends of government ; I am a friend to righteous government, to a government founded upon the principles of reason and justice ; but I glory in publicly avowing my eternal enmity to tyranny ; and here suffer me to ask what tenderness, what regard have the rulers of Great Britain manifested in their late transactions, for the security of the persons or property of the inhabitants of these colonies ? or rather, what have they omitted doing to destroy that security ? They have usurped the right of ruling us, in all cases whatever, by arbitrary laws ; they have exercised this pretended right by imposing a tax upon us without our con-

sent; and lest we should show some reluctance at parting with our property, their fleets and armies are sent to enforce their mad and tyrannical pretensions. The town of Boston, ever faithful to the British crown, has been invested by a British fleet; the troops of George the Third have crossed the Atlantic, not to engage an enemy, but to assist a band of traitors in trampling on the rights and liberties of his most loyal subjects; those rights and liberties which, as a father, he ought ever to regard, and as a king, he is bound, in honour, to defend from violation, even at the risk of his own life.

These troops, upon their first arrival, took possession of our senate house, pointed their cannon against the judgment hall, and even continued them there whilst the supreme court of the province was actually sitting to decide upon the lives and fortunes of the king's subjects.

Our streets nightly resounded with the noise of riot and debauchery; our peaceful citizens were hourly exposed to shameful insult, and often felt the effects of their violence and outrage.

But this was not all; as though they thought it not enough to violate our civil rights, they endeavoured to deprive us of the enjoyment of our religious privileges; to vitiate our morals, and thereby render us deserving of destruction. Hence the rude din of arms which broke in upon your solemn devotions in your temples, on that day hallowed by Heaven; and set apart by God himself for his peculiar worship. Hence, impious oaths and blasphemies, so often tortured your unaccustomed ear. Hence, all the arts which idleness and luxury could invent, were used, to betray our youth of one sex into extravagance and effeminacy, and of the other to infamy and ruin. And did they not succeed but too well? did not our infants almost learn to lisp out curses before they knew their horrid import? did not our youth forget they were Americans; and regardless of the admonitions of the wise and aged, copy with a servile imitation the frivolity and vices of their tyrants? and must I be compelled to acknowledge that even the noblest, fairest part of all the

lower creation did not entirely escape the cursed snare? or why have I seen an honest father clothed with shame, or why a virtuous mother drowned in tears?

But I forbear, and come reluctantly to the transactions of that dismal night, when in such quick succession we felt the extremes of grief, astonishment, and rage; when heaven in anger, for a dreadful moment, suffered hell to take the reins; when Satan with his chosen band opened the sluices of New England's blood, and sacrilegiously polluted our land with the dead bodies of her guiltless sons.

Let this sad tale of death never be told without a tear; let not the heaving bosom cease to burn with a manly indignation at the relation of it through the long tracts of future time; let every parent tell the shameful story to listening children, till tears of pity glisten in their eyes, or boiling passion shakes their tender frames.

Dark and designing knaves, murderers, parricides! how dare you tread upon the earth which has drunk the blood of slaughtered innocence shed by your hands? how dare you breathe this air which wafted to the ear of Heaven the groans of those who fell a sacrifice to your accursed ambition? But if the labouring earth doth not expand her jaws; if the air you breathe is not commissioned to be the minister of death; yet, hear it, and tremble; the eye of Heaven penetrates the darkest chambers of the soul; and you, though screened from human observation, must be arraigned, must lift up your hands, red with the blood of those whose death you have procured, at the tremendous bar of God.

But I gladly quit the theme of death—I would not dwell too long upon the horrid effects which have already followed from quartering regular troops in this town; let our misfortunes instruct posterity to guard against these evils. Standing armies are sometimes (I would by no means say generally, much less universally) composed of persons who have rendered themselves unfit to live in civil society; who are equally indifferent to the glory of a George or a Louis; who, for the addition of one penny a day to their wages,

would desert from the Christian Cross, and fight under the Crescent of the Turkish Sultan ; from such men as these, what has not a state to fear ? with such as these, usurping Cæsar passed the Rubicon ; with such as these, he humbled mighty Rome and forced the mistress of the world to own a master in a traitor. These are the men whom sceptred robbers now employ to frustrate the designs of God, and render vain the bounties which his gracious hand pours indiscriminately upon his creatures.

## APPENDIX III

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THE last proclamation for the annual Thanksgiving which invoked a blessing upon the king was issued in 1773, by Thomas Hutchinson, Esq., governor.

Governor Hutchinson was recalled. Thomas Gage came out with his appointment as royal governor of the excited Province in the year 1774. He issued repeated proclamations of a special nature, such as to dissolve the General Court; against the “Solemn League and Covenant;” to “encourage piety and virtue;” to prevent the meeting of the General Court; “and concerning the proceedings of the Provincial Congress.”

To each of these is appended the time-honored legend of the loyal subjects of the crown, “God save the king.”

But it was useless for this unfortunate representative of vanishing royalty to issue a proclamation to the patriot people for the annual Thanksgiving, as his predecessors had been wont to do; in fact, the “rebellious clergy” of Boston had banded themselves together in a resolve not to read any proclamation that Governor Gage might issue.

It was the first Provincial Congress, assembled at Cambridge, which took this, as other matters, in hand; and it issued a proclamation for the 1774 Thanksgiving.

This broadside is notable for its simplicity, but yet it breathes the spirit of the times.

“MASSACHUSETTS BAY—*A proclamation for public Thanksgiving:* From a consideration of the continuance of the gospel among us, and the smiles of divine Providence upon us, with regard to the season of the year and the general health which has been enjoyed, and in particular from consideration of the union which so remarkably prevails, not only in this

province, but throughout the continent, at this alarming crisis, it is resolved as the sense of this congress, that it is highly proper that a day of public Thanksgiving should be observed, etc. . . .

That God may be pleased to continue to us the blessings we enjoy, and remove the tokens of his displeasure by causing harmony and union to be restored between Great Britain and these colonies, that we may rejoice in the smiles of our sovereign, and in possession of those privileges which have been transmitted to us, and have the hopeful prospect that they shall be handed down entire to posterity under the Protestant succession of the illustrious house of Hanover."

*Done at Council Chamber in Cambridge this Twenty-Second day of October, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy-Four.*

JOHN HANCOCK,  
*President.*

The third Provincial Congress, when in session at Watertown, and busy in making arrangements for supplying the army, appointing and commissioning officers, issuing orders for paper currency, etc., paused to proclaim the annual Thanksgiving. In the midst of manifold burdens and distress they found something to be thankful for.

This proclamation concluded as follows:—

And all Servile Labour is Forbidden on the Said Day.

*Given under our hands at the Council Chamber in Watertown the Fourth Day of November in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy-five.*

BY THEIR HONORS COMMAND,

PEREZ MORTON, *Deyy. Secry.*

JAMES OTIS,	JOSEPH PALMER,	JEDDIAH FOSTER,
CALEB CUSHING,	JABEZ FISHER,	ELDAD TAYLOR,
JOHN WHITCOMB,	BENJ'A. WHITE,	MICHAEL FARLEY,
JAMES PRESCOTT,	WALTER SPOONER,	SAMUEL HOLTON,
BENJ'A. LINCOLN,	JOSEPH GERRISON,	MOSES GILL.

GOD save the PEOPLE.

*Printed in the New England Chronicle or Essex Gazette from Thursday, Nov. 9<sup>th</sup>, to Thursday, Nov. 16<sup>th</sup>, 1775.*

*Printed by Samuel and Ebenezer Hall at their office in Stoughton Hall, Harvard College.*

When the broadside reached the hands of the ministers, the majority were delighted, but to others it brought sorrow and contempt. Some Loyalists in pulpits refused to read it; and others read it, but added their sentiment in the time-honored cry, "God save the king," despite the protests of the congregations.

Here we see the revolution! In 1773, "God save the king;" in 1774, still praying for "the smiles of their sovereign," but ominously omitting the traditional prayer for his salvation; in 1775, "God save the people!"

The die was cast, and the bridges burned behind the patriots who boldly uttered this ringing cry for the people.

The proclamation next year, 1776, bore this simple heading:—

## Proclamation of THANKSGIVING

We have thought fit, with the advice of the Council and at the desire of the House of Representatives, to appoint and hereby do appoint Thursday, the 12th day of December, to be kept as a day of public thanksgiving and prayer throughout the STATE, calling upon ministers and people of every denomination then to convene and with grateful devotion to offer solemn praises to the all gracious author of every good, for the various invaluable benefits conferred on and continued to this State in particular and to the UNITED STATES IN GENERAL, especially that whilst British avarice openly claims and British tyranny vigorously endeavors to wrest from us the free exercise of those rights which Heaven alike bestowed on all mankind, and without which human life is less a favor than the grave, has given these States a just sense of their worth and of the impossibility of resigning those rights to man, without the guilt of rebellion against God, treason to the present and treachery to all future generations.

*Given at the Council Chamber in Boston, on This Sixteenth Day of November in the Year of Our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy-Six.*

The above was signed by the major part of the council,

as in 1775; but there was no concluding prayer attached to this extremely simple document.

In 1780 the Thanksgiving proclamation first presented the symbolic Indian in the coat-of-arms of the Commonwealth, now so familiar to all.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts



By His EXCELLENCE

**JOHN HANCOCK, Esquire.**

Governour and Commander-in-chief in and over the Commonwealth of MASSACHUSETTS,

## A Proclamation,

For a DAY of PUBLIC THANKSGIVING.

The concluding part of this 1780 proclamation was as follows:—

*GIVEN at the COUNCIL CHAMBER, in BOSTON this Eight Day of November, in the year of our LORD, One Thousand seven Hundred and Eighty and in the Fifth Year of the INDEPENDENCE of the United States of AMERICA.*

JOHN HANCOCK.

*By his Excellency's Command,*

*With the Advice and Consent of the Council,*

JOHN AVERY, jun., Secretary.

*GOD save the PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.*

It was not until 1785 that the proclamation as we know it in these days was evolved, and “God save the Commonwealth of Massachusetts” first rang forth from the State House and the pulpits.

## APPENDIX IV

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JOHN HANCOCK, the president, takes leave of the Continental Congress :

GENTLEMEN : Friday last completed two years & five months since you did me the honor of electing me to fill this chair. As I could never flatter myself your choice proceeded from any idea of my abilities, but rather from a partial opinion of my attachment to the liberties of America, I felt myself under the strongest obligations to discharge the duties of the office, and I accepted the appointment with the firmest resolutions to go through the business annexed to it in the best manner I was able. Every argument conspired to make me exert myself, and I endeavored by industry and attention to make up for every other deficiency.

As to my conduct both in & out of Congress, in the execution of your business, it is improper for me to say anything. You are the best judges. But I think I shall be forgiven if I say I have spared no pains, expense, or labor, to gratify Your wishes, and to accomplish the views of Congress. My health being much impaired I find some relaxation absolutely necessary after such constant application. I must therefore request Your Indulgence for leave of absence for two months. But I cannot take my departure, gentlemen, without expressing my thanks for the civility & politeness I have experienced from you. It is impossible to maintain this without a heartfelt pleasure. If any expressions have dropped from my lips which have given offence to any member during the long period that I have had the honor to fill this chair, I hope they will be passed over, for they were prompted by no unkind motive.

May every happiness, gentlemen, attend you, both as members of this house and as individuals, and I pray Heaven that unanimity & perseverance may go hand in hand in this house, and that everything which may tend to distract or divide your councils be forever banished.

## APPENDIX V

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ON Oct. 25, 1780, John Hancock was inaugurated as the first governor under the Constitution of the State of Massachusetts. A committee of the House and Senate conducted his Excellency to the State House. They were preceded by the Independent Company. "The honorable members of both houses being assembled in the Council Chamber, his Excellency addressed them as follows—previous to his taking the oaths required of him, viz., —

*Honorable Gentlemen, —*

It would have ill become me at so early a moment after being notified of my appointment by the respectable committee of this honorable assembly, to appear here to comply with the qualifying requisitions of the Constitution, had not the circumstances of the returns made the choice a matter of public notoriety some weeks past, and receiving it from such authority as confirmed its reality, led me to contemplate the subject; and, although fully sensible of my inability to the important purposes of the appointment, yet having, in the early stage of this contest, determined to devote my whole time and services to be employed in my country's cause to the utter exclusion of all private business, even to the end of the war, and being ever ready to obey the call of my country, I venture to offer myself; ready to comply with the requisitions of the Constitution, and regularly and punctually attend to the duties of the department in which my country has been pleased to place me."

After the oath was taken, the Secretary declared his Excellency, John Hancock, Esq., Governor of this Commonwealth, from the balcony of the State House, repeated by the Sheriff of the County of Suffolk.

Condensed from report in *Independent Chronicle* of Nov. 4, 1780.

Inaugural address of John Hancock as Governor of Massachusetts, 1780:—

*Gentlemen of the Senate, and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,—*

With a sincere and warm heart I congratulate you and my country on the singular favor of heaven in the peaceable and auspicious settlement of our government upon a Constitution formed by the wisdom, and sanctified by the solemn choice of the people who are to live under it. May the Supreme Ruler of the world be pleased to establish and perpetuate these new foundations of liberty and glory.

Finding myself placed at the head of this Commonwealth by the free suffrages of its citizens, while I most sensibly feel the distinction they have conferred upon me in this election, I am at a loss to express the sentiments of gratitude with which it has impressed me. In addition to my natural affection for them, and the obligations they have before laid upon me, I have now a new and irresistible motive, ever to consider their happiness as my greatest interest, and their freedom my highest honor.

Deeply impressed with a sense of the important duties to which my country now calls me, while I obey the call, I most ardently wish myself adequate to these duties; but can only promise, in concurrence with you, Gentlemen, a faithful and unremitting attention to them, supported as I am by the advice and assistance of the Council happily provided by the Constitution, to whose judgment I shall always pay the greatest respect, and on whose wisdom and integrity I shall ever rely. May unanimity among the several branches of this new government consolidate its force, and establish such measures as shall most effectually advance the interest and reputation of the Commonwealth. This can never be done but by a strict adherence in every point to the principles of our excellent Constitution, which on my own part I engage most sacredly to preserve.

*Gentlemen,* Of all the weighty business that lies before you, a point of the first importance and most pressing necessity is the establishment of the army in such consistency and force, and with such seasonable and competent supplies, as may render it, in conjunction with the respectable forces sent to our assistance by our powerful and generous ally, an effectual defence to the free Constitutions and independence of the United States.

You cannot give too early or too serious an attention to that proportion of this business that falls to the share of this Commonwealth. The mode we have too long practised of re-enforcing the army by enlists for a short time, has been found to be at once greatly ineffectual and extremely burthensome. The commander-in-chief, in whose abilities and integrity

we justly repose the highest confidence, has repeatedly stated to us the great disadvantages arising from it; and the necessity of an army engaged for the whole war, and well provided, is now universally felt and acknowledged. Nor should a moment of time be lost in prosecuting every measure for establishing an object so essential to the preservation of our liberties and all that is dear to us. Care at the same time ought to be taken that the necessary supplies be committed to men on whose principles and affection to our great cause, as well as capacity for such a service, we may safely depend.

The support of the public faith stands in close connection with this measure of defence, and, indeed, is absolutely necessary to it, and to the whole interest and honor of the State. No expedient should be unexplored, no necessary measure unattempted, no nerve in government or the community unexerted, to maintain our credit and remove all just ground of complaint from the army that protects us, or from those who have in any instances relied on the public engagements. What friend to his country would not cheerfully bear his full proportion of the expense necessary for this purpose? And I doubt not you will take all possible care that no more than such a proportion be laid upon any man or any class of men. This is not only a clear point of justice from which no government can in any instance recede without injuring and dishonoring itself, but is of particular importance to the internal peace and good temper, and consequently the safety, of the Commonwealth. Doth not this safety also require a stricter attention than I fear has been paid to the methods and purposes of an intercourse with Great Britain, and that more effectual measures may be taken to prevent flags of truce from conveying intelligence or improper persons to those who are prosecuting a war against us with great insidiousness as well as cruelty, to cut off a correspondence between our secret enemies at home and our declared ones abroad, and to restrain prisoners of war from being at large among us, without prudent checks, especially in our seaports. In all such cases, your vigilance will discern, and your fidelity provide where it may be needed, a proper guard to the public safety. The present situation of the eastern part of the State, and the protection of our seacoasts, navigation, and commerce, in all which not only the interest of this and the United States, but that of our allies, is deeply concerned, are important objects that require particular attention.

If we look to the westward, we see recent incursions and ravages of the enemy, so that from every quarter we are loudly called upon to employ the most speedy and strenuous efforts for providing funds that may be depended on, and establishing an army sufficient, by the blessing of Heaven, for the complete deliverance of our country. Its resources, improved with judgment and spirit, are adequate to such a purpose. Nor

can I forbear to observe that we may enter upon this business immediately with less expense and greater advantages than in any future time.

You are fully sensible, Gentlemen, that the separation which the Constitution has made between the legislative and judicial powers, and that just degree of independence it has given to the latter, is one of the surest guards to the person, property, and liberties of the subjects of this Commonwealth, and accordingly you are, I am thoroughly persuaded, heartily disposed to support this independence, and the honor and vigor, of the supreme judicial department in its whole constitutional extent.

Sensible of the importance of Christian piety and virtue to the order and happiness of a state, I cannot but earnestly commend to you every measure for their support and encouragement that shall not infringe the rights of conscience, which I rejoice to see established by the Constitution on so broad a basis ; and if anything can be further done on the same basis for the relief of the public teachers of religion and morality, an order of men greatly useful to their country, and who have particularly suffered in the defence of its rights by the depreciation of currency ; as also for the relief of widows and orphans, many of whom have been distressed in the same way, and who are particularly committed by Heaven to the protection of civil rulers, I shall most readily concur with you in every such measure.

A due observation of the Lord's Day is not only important to internal religion, but greatly conducive to the order and benefit of civil society. It speaks to the senses of mankind, and, by a solemn cessation from their common affairs, reminds them of a Deity and their accountableness to the great Lord of all. Whatever may be necessary to the support of such an institution, in consistence with a reasonable personal liberty, deserves the attention of civil government.

Manners, by which not only the freedom, but the very existence of the republics, are greatly affected, depend much upon the public institutions of religion and the good education of youth ; in both these instances our fathers laid wise foundations, for which their posterity have had reason to bless their memory. The public schools, and our university at Cambridge, very early founded by them, have been no small support to the cause of liberty, and given no dishonorable distinction to our country. The advantages they are still capable of affording to the present and future generations are unspeakable. I cannot, therefore, omit warmly to commend them to your care and patronage.

The laws will now require to be accurately revised, and particularly that which regulates the militia, on which the safety of the Commonwealth naturally rests. This revision you cannot fail to attend to as early as circumstances will allow, which will lead you not only to adapt the laws in the most perfect manner possible to the defence of the State, but also for the

suppression of idleness, dissipation, extravagancy, and all those vices that are peculiarly inimical to free republics, and for the encouragement of those apposite virtues that are particularly friendly to such a form of government.

In such measures as I have now mentioned, and in every other tending to promote the public welfare, you may always depend on my cheerful concurrence with you, and giving every despatch in my power to the public business. And I shall from time to time seasonably communicate to you such informations and proposals of business as may be proper to lay before you.

May the new government diffuse a new animation through the whole political body ; the people expect much from it, perhaps more in some points than circumstances will allow it to perform; but, standing as we do upon their choice and affections, and strenuously exerting ourselves as we ought for their interest, they may find it happily advanced.

May Heaven assist us to set out well, to brighten the auspices of our Constitution, to render it still more beloved and admired by the citizens of this Commonwealth, and to recommend it to the whole world by a wise and impartial, a firm and vigorous, administration of it.

JOHN HANCOCK.

## APPENDIX VI

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THE last effort to save the Hancock Mansion was in June, 1863. A broadside printed in red ink and in a most conspicuous form was posted.

### BOSTONIANS.

SAVE THE OLD JOHN HANCOCK MANSION !

THERE IS TIME YET, ALTHOUGH THE WORK OF  
DEMOLITION HAS COMMENCED.

It is a question of some perplexity to decide how far it is wise or proper for the city government or for individuals to interfere to prevent the act of modern vandalism which demands the destruction of this precious relic; for that it is destroyed in effect, if removed, we conceive admits of no question. Will it or will it not be a mitigation of the public disgrace to establish the house itself elsewhere, as a perpetual monument of the proceeding?

Without wishing in the least degree to discourage the public spirit and the patriotism of those gentlemen in the city council, who are seeking at this moment to do the best they can for the preservation of the house, we still think it right that one preliminary appeal should be made to the present owners. They are gentlemen of wealth, they have made an honest purchase, and of course may plead that they have a right to do what they will with their own. It is with full recognition of their rights in this respect ; and, withal in the utmost kindness to them, that we should admonish them how dearly is purchased any good thing which costs

sacrifice of public associations so dear and so noble as those that cluster around the Hancock House.

These purchasers must at any rate be prepared to hear during the whole of their lives, and that of their remotest posterity, so long as any of them may live in the elegant modern palaces which supplant the ancient structure, the frequent expression of public discontent.

Argument may show them blameless; but sentiment will ever condemn the proceeding in which theirs will be, perhaps the most innocent, but nevertheless the most permanent part. It is not often that an opportunity is given to men of wealth to earn a title to public gratitude, by an act of simple self-denial. Such an opportunity falls to the lot of the purchasers of this estate. Stay the destroying hand, and in less than one year the money can be raised by subscription, or an overwhelming vote be had from the city empowering the city fathers to purchase it.

There is patriotism and reverence for antiquity enough in Boston to save this house, only let it be waked up.

BOSTON, *June 6, 1863.*

(From copy in N. E. Historic Genealogical Society.)

While the effort to save this house did not avail, and must be forever an occasion for regret, it is gratifying that the Hancock house at Lexington has been saved, although removed from its original site.

## APPENDIX VII

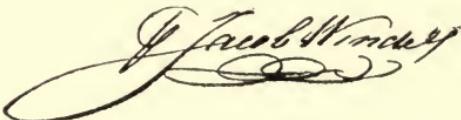
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### HANCOCK'S BUSINESS ASSOCIATES NOT MENTIONED ELSEWHERE IN THIS VOLUME

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| ABBE, JOHN.   | BLASDELL, HENRY.  |
| ALDEN, JOHN.<br>There were in Boston senior and junior.         | BLOSSOM, JAMES.   |
| ALLINE, HENRY, JUN.   | BOWERMAN, STEPHEN.  |
| ATHIARN, JAMES.   | BOVLSTON, THOMAS.   |
| ATHERTON, JAMES.  | Eminent Boston merchant, Loyalist,<br>died in London, 1798.   |
| ATKINS, HENRY.<br>Selectman, lived opposite Garden<br>Court.    | BOYNTON, RICHARD.   |
| ATKINS, JOSHUA.   | BRADFORD, J.  |
| ATKINS, THOMAS.<br>Lived in Richmond Street.                    | BRADFORD, THOMAS.   |
| BACON, EDWARD.  | BRAGDON, JOHN.  |
| BALLS, ROBERT.  | BRAGDON, SAMUEL.  |
| BALLARD, SAMUEL.<br>Pew in Christ Church.                       | BREWER, JOHN.   |
| BAKER, JOHN.<br>Lived in Williams Court, burned out<br>in 1762. | BRIGHAM, EBEN.  |
| BARKER, DANIEL.   | BRIMMER, JOHN.<br>Family seat in School Street.   |
| BARKER, JOSIAH.<br>Of Nantucket.                                | BROWN, ABIJAH.  |
| BARRETT, JONATHAN.  | BROWN, WILLIAM.<br>Of Salem, grandson of Gov. Burnet;<br>colonel of militia; judge of Su-<br>preme Court; banished, 1778. |
| BASS, HENRY.<br>Of tea-party.                                   | BURBECK, EDWARD.  |
| BEAL, JOSHUA.   | CALEF, THOMAS.  |
| BEAZE, JOSEPH.  | CALLENDER, JOSEPH, JUN.   |
| BELL, WILLIAM.  | CAMPBELL, ROBERT.   |
| BILLINGS, RICHARD.  | CHAMBERLAIN, ALEXANDER.<br>Warden of Christ Church, 1747.   |
| BLACK, ANDREW.  | COATTS, THOMAS.   |
| BLAKE, JOHN.  | COOK, NOAH.   |
| BLAKE, JOSEPH.  | COFFIN, CALEB.  |
| BLANCHARD, HEZEKIAH.  | COFFIN, RUTH.   |
|   | COFFIN, TIMOTHY.  |
|   | COFFIN, WILLIAM.<br>Tory, went to Halifax.  |

- CONDON, SAMUEL.  
 COWDRY, JOHN.  
 CRAFTS, THOMAS.  
 CRAFTS, WILLIAM.  
     Colonel of artillery.  
 CROSS, THEODORE.
- DAILEY, THOMAS.  
 DAMOND, CAPTAIN GEORGE.  
     Of Portsmouth.  
 DAVIS, JOHN.  
 DAVIS, WILLIAM.  
 DAVY, SOL.  
 DAWES, MAJOR THOMAS.  
     Architect of Brattle-street Church.  
 DEAN, MELATIAH.  
 DECOSTER, SIMPLE.  
 DENNIE, WILLIAM.  
 DICKERSON, OBA.  
 DICKEY, JAMES.  
 DOANE, ISAAC.  
 DOLIBAR, WILLIAM.  
 DREW, JOSEPH.  
 DURFEE, THOMAS.  
 DUNHAM, SHUBEL.  
 DUTTON, EBENEZER.  
 EASTMAN, WILLIAM.  
 EDES, THOMAS.  
     A baker. Thomas Hutchinson found refuge at his house from the mob.  
 ERVING, JOHN.  
     One of the most eminent merchants of America; grandfather of Hon. Robert C. Winthrop.  
 FESSENDEN, JOSIAH.  
 FLAGG, GERSHOM, JUN.  
 FLETCHER, SAMUEL.  
 FOLGER, TIMOTHY.  
 FRENCH, ISAAC.
- GARDNER, JAMES.  
 GARDNER, JOHN.  
 GARDNER, SILVESTER, DR.  
 GIBBS, JOHN.  
     Master of ship Olive of Nantucket.  
 GILL, SAMUEL.  
     Of firm of Edes & Gill.
- GOODING, SAMUEL.  
 GORHAM, STURGIS.  
     Built first house on south side of Pearl Street.  
 GRAY, JOHN.  
     Of ropewalk fame.  
 GRAY, LIEUT.  
 GREEN, FRANCIS.  
     Of Harvard College, prominent Tory.  
 GREEN, DARIUS.  
 GREENOUGH, NEWMAN.  
 GREENOUGH, SAMUEL.  
 GREENWOOD, NATHANIEL.  
     Captain of mast ship.  
 GRIDLEY, RICHARD.  
     Engineer at Bunker Hill.  
 GROW, EDWARD.
- HALL, JAMES.  
     Commander of ship Dartmouth. Banished.  
 HALLOWELL, BENJAMIN.  
     Commissioner of Customs. Tory.  
     Left in 1776.  
 HALLOWELL, ROBERT.  
     Commissioner of Customs. Ordered Hancock's sloop Liberty seized.  
     Banished. Returned, and died in Maine, 1818.  
 HALLOWELL, ROBERT.  
     Son of Benjamin.  
 HATCH, W.  
 HAVEN, RHODES.  
 HENDERSON, HENRY.  
     Tax collector, 1770.  
 HENSHAW, JOSHUA.  
     On committee to demand removal of troops.  
 HEWES, SAMUEL.  
     One of the 58 Boston merchants of 1760. Banished.  
 HICHBORNE, THOMAS.  
 HIGGINS, SYLVESTER.  
 HILL, ALEXANDER.  
     Ancestor of Edward Everett.  
 HODSON, THOMAS.  
     Owned land on Beacon Hill.  
 HOLLAND, JOHN.  
 HOMER, WILLIAM.  
 HOOD, JOSEPH.  
 HOWARD, SAMUEL.  
     Was a captain; his apprentice was John Clark, wounded at the massacre.

- HUBBELL, JOSIAH.
- HUNT, JOAB.  
Shipjoiner, lived in Charter Street.
- HUSSEY, SYLVESTER.
- INCHES, HENDERSON.  
A ropemaker connected with Bunker family, prominent in stamp trouble.
- INGERSOLL, DANIEL.  
Member of tea-party.
- JACKSON, JOSEPH.  
See Scots' Charitable Society, Sun Tavern.
- JENKINS, JONA.
- JOHNSON, GEORGE.
- KELL, SAMUEL.  
Pilot on sloop Liberty, Nantucket.
- HENDRICK, JOHN.  
Captain of the Columbia.
- KENT, WILLIAM.
- KNOX, THOMAS.
- LAMBERT, JOHN.
- LANGDON, JOHN, JUN.
- LINCOLN, BENJAMIN, ESQ.  
General in Revolution. First collector of customs of United States at Boston.
- LONG, JOHN.
- LORING, CALEB.
- LORING, WILLIAM.
- MACCY, REUBEN.
- MACKETT, JONATHAN.
- MARRABLE, THOMAS.
- MASON, JONATHAN.  
A leading business-man in 1760.
- MERRICK, TILLEY.  
A merchant at Concord, Mass.
- MERRICK, MARY.  
Wife of Tilley.
- MCLEAN, JOHN.  
Founder of McLean Asylum.
- MINOT, GEORGE.  
Had a warehouse in 1754 on Minot's T., a wharf on the northerly side of Long Wharf.
- MITCHELL, REBEKAH.
- MOORE, HUGH.  
Burnt out in 1760.
- MOORE, JOSEPH.
- MORE, WILLIAM.
- NELSON, ROBERT.
- NEWELL, JOHN.
- NOWELL, JOSEPH.
- NOWELL, SAMUEL.
- PADDOCK, ADINO.  
Set out the Paddock Elms. Coach-builder. Violent Tory.
- Adino Paddock*
- PALFREY, WILLIAM.  
Property confiscated and sold in 1780.
- PARKER, DANIEL.
- PERKINS, DANIEL..
- PERKINS, JAMES.  
Boston merchant; gave Atheneum building.
- PICO, JOSHUA.
- PIPER, WALTER.
- PIERPONT, ROBERT.  
Connected with the guard-house trouble of 1768.
- POLLARD, BENJAMIN.  
Colonel of Cadets in 1745.
- POPE, SAMUEL, JUN.
- PRATT, SAMUEL.
- PRENTISE, HENRY.  
Of tea-party.
- PRICE, EZ.
- PRINCE, CAPTAIN JOB.
- QUINCY, EDMUND, 3d.  
Judge, born 1703, married Elizabeth Wendell. He was son of Edmund Quincy and Dorothy Flint. Elizabeth Wendell was daughter of Abraham, brother of Jacob.

- RAWSON, PAUL.
- REED, WILLIAM.
- RICHARDSON, JOHN.
- ROBINSON, JOHN.  
A Commissioner of Customs, who assaulted James Otis, Sept. 5, 1760, and caused a fatal injury to the brilliant young lawyer.
- ROBINS, JAMES.
- ROSS, WILLIAM.
- RUSSELL, BARNABAS.
- RUSSELL, JOSEPH.  
A director in Old U. S. Bank.
- RUSH, ENOCH.
- SALTER, SAMPSON.
- SALTER, THOMAS.
- SAYWARD, JONATHAN.  
A business-man of 1760.
- SEARS, DAVID.  
Son of Daniel, opulent merchant in Boston; married Ann, daughter of John Winthrop, Esq. They were parents of Hon. David Sears.
- SELLON, JOHN.
- SELLON, SAMUEL.
- SEWELL, JOSEPH.  
Pastor of Old South Church, died June 27, 1769.
- SHARPS, GIBRINS.
- SHED, JOSEPH.
- SHERMAN, ABRAHAM.
- SIMPSON, JOHN.
- SHIRLEY, JOHN.
- SHIRLEY, MEHITABLE.
- SKELTON, SIMEON.
- SKILLIN, JOHN.
- SMITH, ELIPHALET.
- SMITH, HENRY.
- SNELLINGS, JONATHAN.
- SNOW, JOSEPH, JUN.
- SPEAR, JOSEPH.
- SPRIGGS, GEORGE.
- STUNBRIDGE, HENRY.
- STURGIS, THOMAS.
- STURGIS, SAMUEL.
- SWAIN, STEPHEN.
- SYMMES, ANDREW, 3D.  
In patriot service, 1776.
- SYMMES, THOMAS,
- THAYER, EBENEZER, JUN.
- THORNTON, TIMOTHY.
- TILESTON, REBECCA.  
Mother of "Master Johnny" (*Porter*).
- TILESTON, ONESIMUS (?).
- TILESTON, THOMAS.  
Admiral, 1771.
- TINKER, SILVANUS.
- TOWNSEND, ANDREW.
- TURNER, MARY.  
Wife of Thomas.
- TURNER, THOMAS.
- TYLER, EDWARD.  
Son of Moses.
- TYLER, MOSES.
- VINSON, JONATHAN.
- WATERHOUSE, SAMUEL.
- WALLEY, THOMAS.  
Active in non-importation, 1769.
- WALKER, THOMAS.  
A founder of Hollis-street Church.
- WALKER, JOHN.  
A founder of Hollis-street Church.
- WATERMAN, THOMAS.  
A founder of the Royal Arch Chapter, F. A. M.
- WELLS, SUSANNA.
- WENDELL, JACOB.  
Prominent man of Boston; Colonel of Boston Regiment, 1745.
- 
- WENDELL, OLIVER, 1772.  
Grandfather of O. W. Holmes.
- 
- WESTON, ELIPHAC.
- WHEATLEY, NATHANIEL.

WHEATER, JOSEPH.	WIMBLE, W.
WHITNEY, DANIEL.	WINTER, EDWARD.
WHITNEY, SIMEON.	WINTHROP, ADAM.
WHITE, JOHN. Merchant at Concord, Mass.	On committee to convey thanks of town to Peter Faneuil for market.
WILDER, JOSEPH.	WINTHROP, ANDREW.
WILLIAMS, JONATHAN.	WINSLOW, ISAAC, JUN.
WILLIAMS, ROBERT.	WINSLOW, JOSHUA.
WILLIAMS, THOMAS.	WINSOR, JONATHAN.

## BUSINESS FIRMS.

BENJAMIN & EDWARD DAVIS.	SCOTT & GILL.
BOWLES & LUCKES.	Nantucket.
BUNKER, JENKINS, & BARNARD.	SILV. HUSSEY & Co.
GREEN & BOYLSTON.	Nantucket.
JACKSON & KING, 1771.	STEPHEN & EZEKIEL HALL.
JONATHAN CUSHING & Co.	THOMAS D. & JOSEPH DAKIN.
JOSIAH BARKER & Co. Nantucket.	THOMAS, MARRABLE, & HUNT.
NATHANIEL APPLETON & Co.	WM. & MICHAEL HOMER.
NICH. BROWN & Co. Providence.	WHIPPLE & WHEATON.



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